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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the study was to differentiate among black college students by attitudes and behavior, in relation to social characteristics, in order to relate better to their individual needs. Individual interviews were conducted of 144 black students and a control group of 159 white students. A questionnaire was designed which used both standard survey research scales and original measures of attitudes and protest activities. Important social characteristics which emerged were social class, sex, age, religion, and status as a veteran. Each was related to attitudes toward separatism-integration and toward the political system. Each was also related to participation in protest activities and to attitudes toward oneself. The integration experience itself emerged as both related to protest activity and certain political attitudes. It was concluded that the integration experience built support for the political system. A vast array of differences in personality, attitudes and behavior was demonstrated among blacks. Evaluation of the positive effect of integration on attitudes and behavior led to strong recommendations to restructure education based on integrated groups, rather than neighborhood. (Author/LM)

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The purpose of the research project was to differentiate among black college students by attitudes and behavior in relation to social characteristics in order to relate better to individual needs. The method of investigation was by individual interview of 144 black students and a control group of 159 white students. A questionnaire was designed which used both standard survey research scales and original measures of attitudes and protest activities. The NUCROS computer program was used to establish relationships.

Important social characteristics which emerged were social class, sex, age, religion, and status as a veteran. Each was related to attitudes toward separatism-integration and toward the political system. Each was also related to participation in protest activities and to attitudes toward oneself. The integration experience itself emerged as both related to protest activity and certain political attitudes. The conclusion was that the integration experience built support for the political system.

A vast array of differences in personality, attitudes, and behavior was demonstrated among blacks. These differences provide educators with insights on addressing the needs of black students. Evaluation of the positive effect of integration on attitudes and behavior led to strong recommendations to restructure education based on integrated groups, rather than neighborhood.

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RELATIONSHIPS OF SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS, ATTITUDES, AND POLITICAL BEHAVIOR OF INNER-CITY COMMUNITY COLLEGE STUDENTS

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Date

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Office of Education
National Center for Educational Research and Development

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To Jeff, Randy, and Joey

with the hope that
in my love for
other people's children
I have not neglected
my own.

Preface

Questions of conscience sometimes are raised concerning the use of research results by those who do not share the values or intent of the researcher. These doubts were resolved by my clear conviction that the momentum of social change cannot be reversed and that the information accumulating regarding the black American will be used to educate other Americans in need of understanding the inevitable.

Exciting changes are underway among the youth of the nation--changes, which I regard as a political "good." My hope is to monitor a movement in motion, and offer recommendations for constructive alternatives. Love of the nation means to me, giving credence to the aspirations of all Americans--and soon!

I wish to thank Northwestern University, where I learned to read critically, Washington University, where I learned to think analytically, and Forest Park Community College, where I learned to observe systematically the real life panorama of people and problems that constitute a definitive education. Richard E. Dawson, my friend and mentor, tolerated and guided the unfolding and union of all three.

Gratitude for financial support for my graduate education goes to Washington University with a particular fondness for private institutions who have faith in the performance of women with families. Carl A. McCandless was among the early believers. I thank John Sprague for imposing rigorous standards of both scholarship and clarity of expression in my years of tutelage.

Forest Park Community College lent all kinds of moral and institutional support for my research capability. The bulk of financial assistance for this project came from the U.S. Office of Education under the auspices of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. This support I gratefully acknowledge. Responsibility for interpretation of materials is mine alone.

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PART I

INTRODUCTION--STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

I

Introduction

Pronouncements from black militant leaders that the civil rights movement is dead and that we are now entering a phase of black rebellion or revolution pose questions to the social scientist and to the nation as to the depth, content and direction of the current movement. Presidential commissions and study groups have repeatedly warned of growing hostilities, violence and deterioration of relations. The National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence[1] stated in its last report that American cities are on their way to becoming places of terror and fortresses "in a few more years." A 1969 Newsweek[2] survey of attitudes of black Americans demonstrates impatience with the failure of American institutions to meet the problems dramatized in the last decade and despair of unchanging white attitudes.

Targets of militancy are governmental agencies and decision-making bodies, business and labor, and all levels of education. American colleges and universities from Cornell to San Francisco State are particularly subject to increasing racial cleavage and polarization of extremist groups. Differential responses from educational institutions have been noted across the nation, but conviction is lacking that uneasy compromises have met the problem. Viewing integration in education as an initial civil rights goal, we are forced to take a hard look at the places now integrated, which, nevertheless do not serve as social models and do not offer a panacea for social ills.

Community colleges are viewed as less subject to national protest movements and less likely to experience disruption. However, two of the three St. Louis-St. Louis County Junior College District colleges were interrupted by student sit-ins involving black students in 1969-70. Forest Park Community College, the urban college of the multi-campus setting became subject to the spill-over of the national malady of urban problems and tensions, as well as the explosive issues on the minds of college students in every location. Specific demands at Forest Park, having 40% black students at the time of the early protests, related to black studies, black faculty, allocation of funds to black events, black representation to governing committees, black section of the library.

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[1] Report Summary published in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, November 24, 1969

[2] "Report From Black America," Newsweek, June 30, 1969

Extremism erupted from both political poles at the college and resulted in suspension of classes, court actions, sporadic fires, cafeteria boycotts, a flag episode, and repeated bomb threats. Black and white protestors cooperated on some issues; other incidents polarized around race. In the setting of the inner city, where the college approaches the "ideal" in terms of truly integrated education and a genuinely open-door college, mere physical presence of groups in an integrated setting in no way suffices to address inherent problems of the nation. It is clear that we do not know enough about addressing the needs of individual students.

Once difficulties arise at a particular college campus, suspension of normal classroom routine is not unusual. The suspension is usually followed by a series of informal dialogues to discuss pertinent issues. At Forest Park, in the midst of a rap session with students, faculty, administrators--an attractive, articulate, and angry young black interrupts the discussion on curricula by shouting. "What does Beowulf have to do with _my_ life?" An epic poem attributed to about the Eight Century

A.D. and telling a tale of kings, and swords, and dragons, Beowulf had come to symbolize the thrust for relevancy, demands for black studies, separatism. Implicit in the challenge is the whole host of frustrations experienced in the American educational setting, as well as the broader concerns of the black revolution. Beowulf is expendable and was dropped from department curricula, as Forest Park Community College joined the growing list of colleges and universities whose operation was temporarily shattered in the academic year 1969-70.

A change in a reading list, reallocation of funds in student activities for speakers, approval of a black studies department-- have these changes really solved the problem or have we merely temporized? Charles Hamilton draws attention to the importance of the black college student in his discussion of Black Power. He notes the burgeoning of black students' groups across the country, stating, "The students are discussing problems of identity, of relevant curricula at their universities, of ways of helping their people when they graduate."[3] The potential black leadership is presently in training at institutions of higher learning, and as such, deserves our careful research attention. A promising group of young adults has entered the hallowed halls.

The study which follows set out to investigate the content and direction of the black student movement and the individuals caught up within the movement. Personality, social group membership, political attitudes and protest activity--each are a specific focus of inquiry. Relationships among these variables were investigated in an attempt to better understand the needs of black youth. The elimination of Beowulf may serve the needs

[3] Hamilton, Charles V., "An Advocate of Black Power Defines It (1968)," in Wagstaff, Thomas, ed., Black Power: The Radical Response to White America, Glencoe Press, Beverly Hills, 1969, p. 131

of expediency, but before other art forms of western culture also are abandoned, perhaps, we need to investigate the depth of the problem. After all,

> "....Beowulf was a prince
> Well loved, followed in friendship, not fear."[4]

Part I of this research project serves to introduce the study, explain the method of the research, and discuss the locale of the study. Chapter I provides the underpinnings of black student concerns and a review of the progress of the movement. The choice of measures, verification of the instrument, and the methodological procedures are described in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 defines and describes the research site.

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4. Beowulf, translated by Burton Raffel, A Mentor Classic, The New American Library, New York, 1963, lines 913-914

CHAPTER I -- BACKGROUND OF THE BLACK STUDENT MOVEMENT

I The Student Revolution

II Identity

III Intellectual Roots

IV Tactics

V A Movement in Motion

Chapter I

A discussion of the black student movement necessarily is intertwined with recent general student concerns and the broad intellectual background of black thought. For the black student, the student revolution and the black revolution are in practice inseparable. A brief review of each will provide a framework for understanding the black student involvement in each and lead to the specific concerns of this research project. The first section of Chapter I will attempt to draw together the changes and issues of the American student movement in general and the role of the black student within it. The remaining part of the chapter will review highlights of black thought over time.

Section II introduces black thinking on the problem of identity or the struggle of the individual to resolve living in American society with his blackness. Differences in goals of black leaders in the past and in the present are discussed in Section III. Section IV reviews differences in tactics advocated by the same thinkers. A focus is provided by recent activists on youth and attendant social change underway. A description of changes in the civil rights movement follows in Section V. This serves to rejoin the discussion of both the black revolution and the student revolution.

7

The Student Revolution

Racial cleavage and student extremism on college campuses have moved to the forefront of American problems in the recent past. Activities of the black students especially have received considerable attention, if little understanding. Student protest in the year 1969-70 took on mammoth proportions as college after college suspended routine classes in the wake of violence and threats of violence.

Single issue protests had characterized the student movement starting at Berkeley in 1964 and throughout 1964-65. Early protests focused on campus issues related to food services, dress and dormitory hours, underground newspapers. After the 1964-65 academic years, protests generally broadened to social and political issues of national and international importance. The current student movement has been characterized as concerned with three main issues: the treatment of racial minorities, the engagement in Southeast Asia, and the role of the university.[1]

Analysts of student protest distinguish between the activities and interests of the white and the black students. A shared concern is racism and especially institutional racism. Typically, the reference is to institutional arrangements such as standard placement tests, which are useful to place white middle class children, but tell us virtually nothing of the potential of lower class children--black or white. What is essentially different from earlier civil rights protest activities, is the new awareness among the young of black pride and black dignity. Always in evidence is a carefully executed determination to stick to the racial point. In general, the black student was not seen participating in the Vietnam moratoria or the Kent State mourning. Some interest was shown from the black veterans on issues such as the Lieutenant Calley decision, but by and large, black student protest has been limited to the concerns within the parameters of strictly black problems. White student concerns usually cover a broader range of contemporary problems.

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[1] Report of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest, Extra Edition, Commerce Clearing House, Inc., New York, 1970, Chap. 2, pp. 10-12

The President's Commission on Campus Unrest states, "Black student unrest is, therefore, not identical with white student unrest, and Black student unrest cannot be seen as simply 'campus unrest.' It extends beyond the college and university campus and, in varying degrees, involves the total Black population of America."[2] The National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence reports, "Black student spokesmen are at least as militant as white radicals, especially in the tactics they advocate and use. But black student organizations have been more oriented toward negotiating specific reforms and concessions than have white radicals."[3]

Similarities in tactics are noted, and occasional alliances are not unknown. The purpose of black protest is rarely to destroy the educational institution, but rather to reform it in order to address specifically minority group needs. "....the formal involvement of Black student groups in issues not directly related to minority student problems has been in most cases, limited."[4]

The Urban Research Corporation studied 232 campuses in 1969 to identify causes of student unrest and protest. "Black recognition" was the principal issue reported, with the majority of incidents coming from

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2. Report, ibid., Chap. 3, p. 7

3. Skolnick, Jerome H., Director, Task Force of Violent Aspects of Protest and Confrontation of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, The Politics of Protest, Clarion, New York, N.Y. 10020, 1969, p. 130

4. Report, op. cit., Chap. 3, p. 7

predominantly white institutions in the North. "Specific issues included: 'provide more courses on Black studies,' 32 percent; 'increase numbers of Black students,' 24 percent; 'hire more Black faculty and staff,' 23 percent; 'end discrimination and honor Blacks,' 15 percent; 'provide more facilities for Black students,' 9 percent; 'increase Black representation on general committees,' 8 percent; and 'support off-campus Black power,' and 'hire Black employees,' 4 percent."[5]

Traditionally, the bulk of black youth, who received any higher education at all, have been educated in all Negro colleges of the South. Greensboro, North Carolina, in the winter of 1960 marked the beginning of overt student activity. Four college freshmen at North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College quietly sat down at a local lunch counter and asked to be served. The sit-in movement was launched, and thereafter spread rapidly all over the South and to the rest of the nation.

Initially the activists were well-dressed, young, middle class blacks. High school blacks joined the college students by the second day, and white students by the third day. The chronicler of the student movement, Jack Newfield,[6] views Greensboro as the inspiration for the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley (1964), the teach-ins, and the whole host of activities which followed in the decade of the sixties.

The organization growing out of the sit-ins was the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. Led by John Lewis, the organization was committed initially to passive resistance in order to illustrate

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5. Ibid., pp. 24-25

6. Newfield, Jack, A Prophetic Minority, Signet Books, 1301 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N. Y. 10019, 1966, p. 44

continuing injustices. The election of Stokely Carmichael in 1966 to leadership of SNCC marks an important turning point in the black student movement. Anti-white feeling had grown, and the new leaders insisted on "...the necessity of independent black political, economic, and cultural institutions."[7] The erosion of the civil rights movement's commitment to non-violence had reverberations in campus protest. Militancy increased in Southern black colleges in 1966 and 1967.[8]

The President's Commission on Campus Unrest points out that 50% of blacks attending college today are enrolled in the 123 predominantly black institutions. These institutions are perenially underfunded, and strong recommendations to correct this situation, follow in the report. Little attention is given to the junior colleges, who are perhaps best equipped to pick up the growing numbers of blacks determined to obtain a higher education. Very fine arguments can be presented to seek excellence in either predominantly black or predominantly white educational institutions. Also to the point of the nation's concerns may be to see if those institutions, presently integrated, will provide information relative to American youth needs.

The problem of black-white relations is peculiar to the United States. Joseph A. Califano, Jr. in a cross-national study, noted the absence of racial tensions in universities investigated, except in the United States. He warns, "The extraordinarily explosive and complicating nature of the black-white situation on the American campuses and among American youth should not be underestimated."[9]

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7. Report, op. cit., Chap. I, p. 27

8. Newfield, op. cit., p. 75

9. Califano, Joseph A., Jr., The Student Revolution, A Global Confrontation, W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., New York, 1970, p. 59

Increased political consciousness of black youth also is evident from the nature and quantity of high school protest. Sporadic outbreaks were evidenced in urban schools beginning in 1967. Protest escalated in 1968-69 and virtually spilled over in 1969-70 concomitant with the planned moratoria and spontaneous eruptions. In summarizing high school protest by black students, the Task Force noted, "Both middle- and lower-class youth participate in such protests, often with the active support of their parents and local community organization."[10] The Task Force further states, "Although interracial violence continues in varying intensity, black and white students occasionally, demonstrate more solidarity than they have in the past."[11] The kinds of issues involved, the direction and content of the movement need to be understood. Demands for separatism warrant careful investigation.

II Identity

Understanding the concerns of black youth requires some background knowledge of the problems common to all black Americans. Social scientists and journalists are giving increasing attention to the psychological problem, or specifically, the crisis of self-identity posed by growing up black in the United States. Reports of a conference at Tufts University, Boston, published in Negro Self-Concept[12] gives attention to identity problems in pre-school and early school years. The importance of self-concept is clearly established.

10. Skolnick, op. cit., p. 167

11. ibid

12. Negro Self-Concept, Implications for School and Citizenship, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1965

Perhaps James Baldwin states the problem best. In reference to the people who somehow manage to avoid all the pitfalls of growing up in the urban ghetto, Baldwin says, "They work in the white man's world all day and come home in the evening to this fetid block. They struggle to instill in their children some private sense of honor or dignity which will help the child to survive. This means, of course, that they must struggle, stolidly, incessantly, to keep this sense alive in themselves, in spite of the insults, the indifference, and the cruelty they are certain to encounter in their working day....Such frustration, so long endured, is driving strong, admirable men and women whose only crime is color to the very gates of paranoia."[13] The effort to cope with the daily insult to one's sense of personal worth obviously must have a bearing on subsequent attitudes and behavior. Without pretending any expertise in personality development, it is eminently clear that as individuals and as a group, the answer to the question "Who Am I?" will be crucial to understanding the people involved in current social and political movements.

Eldridge Cleaver discusses political manifestations of the problem at the group level. "Self-hatred takes many forms....Ethnic self-hate is even more difficult (than individual)* to detect. But in American Negroes, this ethnic self-hatred often takes the bizarre form of a racial death-wish, with many and elusive manifestations. Ironically, it provides much of the impetus behind the motivations of integration. And the attempt to suppress or deny such drives in one's phyche leads many American Negroes to become ostentatious separationists, Black Muslims, and back-to-Africa advocates."[14]

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* Editor insert

[13] Baldwin, James, Nobody Knows My Name, The Dial Press, N. Y., 1961, pp. 59-60

At the individual level, Martin Luther King's concern is expressed for the youth. "One of the most serious effects of the Negro's damaged ego has been his frequent loss of respect for himself and for other Negroes."[15] King notes that many older blacks and some younger blacks as well have suffered so many defeats that motivation is now absent. "But there is a host of Negro youth who still have the will and the capacity to achieve excellence in their various fields of endeavor. Doors of opportunity are gradually opening....The great challenge is to prepare ourselves to enter these doors as they open."[16]

Alvin F. Pouissaint,[17] psychiatrist, discusses negative self-esteem and suppressed rage in terms of adult manifestations. He outlines alternative means of expressing the rage as channeling it to either competitive events, or by identification with the oppressor. A third alternative is identification with persons, objectively like themselves, such as Malcolm X, and the fourth outbursts in violence. Which alternative a particular individual is likely to choose is undefined.

The problem of coping with a black identity evidentally begins at a very early age and is never absent on into adulthood. Attempts to resolve the problem are approached by various thinkers at both the individual level and the group level. Differential means of resolving the dilemma are in evidence. The pervasive ever-recurring problem lays a framework for understanding the demands and campaigns to uplift the morale of a whole group in toto as a means to absolve difficulties of a conglommeration of individuals. Political manifestations of the problem are rooted in black thinkers of the past.

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[14] Cleaver, Eldridge, Soul On Ice, McGraw-Hill Book Co., N. Y., 1968, pp. 100-01

[15] King, Martin Luther, Jr., Where Do We Go From Here?, A Bantam Book, Harper & Row, N. Y., 1967, p. 146

[16] Ibid, p. 149

[17] Daly, Charles U., ed., Urban Violence, the University of Chicago Center for Policy Study, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1969, selection by Pouissaint, Alvin F., "The Psychology of a Minority Group With Implication for Social Action," pp. 32-33

III Intellectual Roots

Two strains of thought can be identified over time in the literature on black protest. One theme running through black intellectual thought stresses integration, the other, separatism. The more radical separatist programs advocate "back to Africa" kinds of solutions or seek separate geographic units within the United States. The "separate but equal" kinds of arguments also may be subsumed under this intellectual strain.

The roots of separatism appear very early in black political thought. The American Colonization Society founded by Martin Delaney, appeared in the mid-nineteenth century. Before the Civil War, serious consideration was given to the problem in conjunction with asking for U. S. support for emigration of blacks to Liberia. Augustus Washington, in a letter to the New York Daily Tribune, June 9 and 10, 1851, speaks to this notion. "He who would not rather live anywhere in earth in freedom than in this country in social and political degradation, has not attained half the dignity of his manhood. I hope our Government will justly recognize the independence of Liberia, establish that line of steamers, and thus give Africa a reinforcement of 10,000 men per annum instead of 400."[18]

18. Storing, Herbert J., ed., What Country Have I? Political Writings by Black Americans, St. Martin's Press, N. Y., 1970, selection by Washington, Augustus, "African Colonization--By A Man of Color", p. 25

Marcus Garvey and his Back to Africa Movement in the 1920's demonstrate the same theme of separatism in the twentieth century. An early precursor of Black Power, Garvey spoke to black pride, race dignity, and political and economic cooperation and control. "...a West Indian of magnetic appeal, (he)* brought to Harlem's masses a doctrine of emancipation through separatism--' back to Africa'....His movements brought parades and uniforms and excitement to the streets of Harlem.'[19] Garvey attracted widespread interest and sympathy from millions of blacks in answer to edicts such as, "...we are calling upon the four hundred million Negroes of the world to take a decided stand, a determined stand, that we shall occupy a firm position; that position should be an emancipated race and a free nation of our own. We are determined that we shall have a free country; we are determined that we shall have a flag; we are determined that we shall have a government, second to none in the world."[20]

The most recent form of separatist themes are found in the literature and programs of the nation of Islam. The Black Muslims advocate complete physical separation of the races and seek a separate geographic entity which eventually would be independent of whites--socially, politically, and economically. The extraordinary success of the Muslims in re-habilitating prisoners and addicts and placing them in rural occupations attests to an understanding of the identity crisis, even if the political programs appear unrealistic.

* Editor Insert

19. Fullinwider, S. P., The Mind and Mood of Black America, The Dorsey Press, Homewood, Ill. 1969, p. 25

20. Grant, Joanne, ed., Black Protest, selection by Garvey, Marcus, "The Philosophy of Marcus Garvey," Fawcett, Publications., Inc., Greenwich, Columbia, 1968, p. 201

Among the more moderate leadership, but nevertheless, separatist in nature, is Booker T. Washington. There seems to be some argument presently in historical interpretations as to how much of Washington's philosophy was intellectual conviction and how much expedient for the times in which he lived. It is clear that Washington accepted American culture and concomitantly materialism, and encouraged blacks to start learning how to advance economically. In his famous address at Atlanta, Washington advised, "No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem. It is at the bottom of life we must begin and not at the top. Nor should we permit our grievances to overshadow our opportunities."[21]

The "wait and see" or "improve and things will get better" is the part which modern militants find so galling. Carmichael and Hamilton do a searing account of the Tuskegee faith in Chapter VI of Black Power.[22] And yet Storing points out, "Washington's acceptance of an 'equal but separate' status for blacks seems again not unreasonable to many blacks disillusioned with 'integration' and doubtful about its political and moral implications. Washington's principles of education, beginning with training to meet the immediate needs of earning a living and domestic economy and broadening out to moral and liberal education, are seen to have relavance to some of the educational problems that our schools have yet to solve."[23] It seems at times as if we are back where we started, except that the commitment is renewed--this time with love.

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21. Storing, op. cit., selection by Washington, Booker, T., "Atlanta Exposition Address," p. 60

22. Carmichael, Stokeley and Hamilton, Charles V., Black Power: The Politics of Liberation, Vintage Books, New York, 1967, Chap. VI, pp. 122-145

23. Storing, op. cit. pp. 57-58

A second strain of thought running through the literature by black Americans is the general theme we shall call integration. The term itself has shifted in meaning to those concerned with it over time, but it generally applies to the thinking of the majority of blacks, who have decided to come to some kind of terms with living in America.

The black abolitionist Frederick Douglass abhorred the American Colonization Society and all it stood for. Douglass was among the early voices raised, challenging America to live up to her own principles. In a Fourth of July address on slavery in 1852, he spelled out much of what we hear daily today on the treatment of black Americans. "Whether we turn to the declarations of the past, or to the professions of the present, the conduct of the nation seems equally hideous and revolting. America is false to the past, false to the present, and solemnly binds herself to be false to the future."[24] Although, viewing the United States as the white man's country, and blacks as Abraham Lincoln's "stepchildren," Douglass, nevertheless, insisted on full political equality.

The towering intellect spanning several generations, and at odds with Booker T. Washington, is W. E. B. Du Bois. His intellectual development from the period 1897 into the 1950's has been the subject of much scholarly inquiry. Contradictory elements found in Du Bois's work are not unusual for one who lived and worked through so many social and political movements. At the risk of over-simplification, I rely on Joanne Grant to spell out a rather basic difference. "The Negro protest moved in two directions: toward separation and toward integration. The two foremost Negro leaders were Booker T. Washington, who advocated self-help and training for jobs and business through which the Negro could

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24. Storing, op. cit., Douglass, Frederick, "Fourth of July Oration," p. 32

become independent, though socially useful; and W. E. B. Du Bois, who also stressed education, but whose ultimate goal was integration of the Negro into American society with full equality."[25] The goals of the two men, in the absence of a time overlay, appear on the surface to differ radically. More meaningful distinctions between these two giants of black thought will be made shortly in terms of tactics.

To return to the discussion of integration as a goal, an older word used in this context is assimilation, meaning racial amalgamation. "The focus, politically, legally, socially, and in every other conceivable way, is on the individual human beings, the color of their skin being fundamentally irrelevant."[26] The recent civil rights movement or the older human rights movements all presume an end to color consciousness. Racial amalgamation as a goal per se is not crucial, but rather a natural occurrence following from normal daily living in an integrated setting.

The meaning of integration has undergone another shift with the growth of militancy. It can be described as a rather frank admission of certain differences in interests, which although ideally should not be, in fact are, based on race. I have heard it referred to in my own experience as "the salad bowl" theory.[27] The notion is explained to mean a good salad has different colored vegetables mixed together to be appetizing and enjoyable. Storing explains it as, "...the more recent thinking is in the direction of integration in the more precise sense of making a whole out of parts that are and remain distinct."[28] The new meaning of integration is not to be construed as more than superficially separatist, but rather a distinction of dignity.

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[25] Grant, op. cit., p. 175

[26] Storing, op. cit., p. 4

[27] I give credit for this terminology to Dr. William H. Moore, black author and educator, with whom I had the pleasure to work for one academic year.

[28] Storing, op. cit. p. 5

The Task Force points out it is misleading to assume that the advocates of black separatism are retreating from confrontation politics on the issue of integration. This line of thinking of course, harks back to Washington, but with the tactics of Du Bois. "It also fails to appreciate the fact that black protest now aims, at least in theory, at a transformation of American institutions rather than inclusion into them."[29] The theoretical change in the meaning of integration finally comes to grips with the problem of identity at the individual level without escapism at the group level. It also may provide the necessary link between the black and white student movements who share a concern for racism and who share a set of values committed to honesty. Here then is the real crux of the movement for the 1970's, and it is this notion that the present study hopes to monitor.

IV Tactics

The two strains of thought toward separatism and toward integration are cross-cut by two modes of actions recommended by the leadership. One set of leaders advocates direct action, often militancy, and more recently confrontation. The real functional value of the "black rage" projected by each of these leaders has been in the context of the identity crisis. A very tough, unafraid, male image has been projected to the youth, which whether intended or not, is the real contribution of the present militants.

A second set of leaders spoke in the past to self-help and individualism, which more recently has internalized into seeking a distinctive black culture. Some intellects seek to establish liaison with the African past or with Islam. Others summarily reject this identity and seek to verify a distinctive life style in America that is uniquely "black." This includes the literature on "soul", certainly the music associated with jazz and blues, and the current rhetoric, "you have to be black to understand the black experience."

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[29] Skolnick, op. cit., p. 161

Early leaders embody both modes of action and their tactics suggest that the choice has more to do with personality than with goals. Frederick Douglass fought slavery and the American Colonization Society with equal fervor. Booker T. Washington, the architect of patience and compromise (or self-help), assumed leadership of the movement in the late nineteenth century. "Washington had the confidence of white politicians and philanthropists in the North, and this gave him control over the appointments of Negroes to political jobs and over the flow of funds into the coffers of Negro educational institutions."[30] It also brought him into fierce competition with Du Bois.

"As Washington preached the doctrine of separation of the races, and both North and South adopted segregation laws, Du Bois pursued equality through agitation."[31] Du Bois was part of the Niagara Movement, a founder of the NAACP, and a successful editor of the NAACP journal Crisis. Both men were concerned with education for black children. Distinctions are often made that Washington focused on the masses, while Du Bois's concern was for the "talented tenth." Equally evident, is the difference in tactics. Du Bois believed in confrontation politics. Washington's style

30. Fullinwider, op. cit. p. 66

31. Grant, op. cit., p. 177

was reticent. In retrospect, differences in goals in the long run probably were not too distinct. Washington's eventual goal in theory should lead to an integrated society based on equality.

The official goal of the NAACP always has been integration. Tactics have been in the legalistic framework but on the scale of the test case which would be categorized as direct action. The success of the important legal-constitutional principles won by the NAACP made possible the emergence of the charismatic leader the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King. As a leader and as a person, Dr. King's sheer brilliance as a political strategist should not be overlooked. His volume Where Do We Go From Here?[32] spells out the logic of coalition strategy and adds a dimension to the man usually not noted in his biographies.

Dr. King's rationale for confrontation politics is discussed in his classic "Letter from Birmingham Jail." "We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed. Frankly, I have yet to engage in a direct-action campaign that was 'well timed' in the view of those who have not suffered unduly from the disease of segregation. For years now I have heard the word 'Wait!' It rings in the ear of every Negro with piercing familiarity. This 'Wait!' has almost always meant 'Never.' We must come to see, with one of our distinguished jurists, that 'justice too long delayed is justice denied.'"[33] As Dr. King is cut down in 1968, it is ironic that the movement is already shifting away from integration per se. Direct action tactics are not abandoned, but rather the shift is in goals. The rhetoric becomes black "self-determination."

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[32] King, Martin Luther, Jr., Where Do We Go From Here?, A Bantam Book, Harper & Row, New York

[33] Storing, op. cit., King, Martin Luther, Jr. "Letter From Birmingham Jail," p. 120

Malcolm X, Eldridge Cleaver, Stokely Carmichael, and Huey Newton all speak in one context or another to coalition politics with emphasis on cooperation among the young. But it is the "salad bowl" theory. Coalition politics are to follow the drive for black unity. Bargaining, quite clearly only can be done successfully when one is bargaining from a position of strength. Hope is seen among the white youth.

Carmichael and Hamilton spell it out as, "Black Power therefore has no connotation of 'go it alone.' Black Power simply says: enter coalitions only after you are able to 'stand on your own.' Black Power seeks to correct the approach to dependency, to remove that dependency, and to establish a viable psychological, political, and social base upon which the black community can function to meet its needs."[34] The tactics are Du Bois, the goal reminiscent of Washington, only the time is sooner.

Huey Newton, minister of the Black Panthers, spells the notion out bluntly in answer to a question on coalitions with predominantly white groups. "We have an alliance with the Peace and Freedom Party.[35] The Peace and Freedom Party has supported our program in full and this is the criterion for a coalition with the black revolutionary group. If they had not supported our program in full, then we would not have seen any reason to make an alliance with them, because we are the reality of the oppression....Therefore we should decide what measures and what tools and what programs to use to become liberated. Many of the young white revolutionaries realize this and I see no reason not to have a coalition with them."[36]

34. Carmichael & Hamilton, op. cit. p 81

35. This is the party from which Eldridge Cleaver ran for President of the United States in 1968.

36. Young, Richard P., ed., Roots of Rebellion, "Huey Newton Talks to the Movement," Harper & Row, New York, 1970, pp. 376-7

Scholars differ over exactly what the final thinking was of Malcolm X. Storing views Malcolm as murdered when he was still thinking through his intellectual position. He does state at one point in a speech, "We will work with anybody, anywhere, at any time, who is genuinely interested in tackling the problem head-on, nonviolently, as long as the enemy is nonviolent, but violent when the enemy gets violent."[37]

One of the great admirers of Malcolm X was Eldridge Cleaver. Both received much of their education in prison. Despite associations of "gut" language with Cleaver, he went on to develop his own considerable talent to a degree of eloquence. The following probably best expresses the marriage of goals and tactics in the future, for the youth.

"At times of fundamental social change, such as the era in which we live, it is easy to be deceived by the onrush of events, beguiled by the craving for social stability into mistaking transitory phenomena for enduring reality. The strength and permanence of "white backlash" in America is just such an illusion. However much this rear-guard action might seem to grow in strength, the initiative, and the future, rest with those whites and blacks who have liberated themselves from the master/slave syndrome. And these are to be found mainly among the youth.[38]

V A Movement In Motion

The foregoing survey of the growing literature on black Americans demonstrates that protest activity, the urge to be separate from the larger society, concern with seeking an identity of one kind or another--

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[37] Storing, op. cit., Malcolm X, "The Ballot or the Bullet," p. 161

[38] Cleaver, Eldridge, Soul On Ice, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1968, pp. 66-67

all are nothing new in the black experience. The important difference which concerns us today is the momentum gained in the current movement. Brown v. Topeka[39] is close to two decades old. A whole generation has grown up, a few living the new experience, but many believing in it--one more time.

The terminology of the broad movement has shifted from civil rights, which had been largely directed to favorable legislation, judicial decisions and the implementation thereof, to black power and the politics of liberation. Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton state, "...Black Power means that black people see themselves as part of a new force, sometimes called the 'Third World,' that we see our struggle as closely related to liberation struggles around the world."[40] The shift is also geographic. The locus of the civil rights movement had been the American South. The liberation movement centers primarily in the urban ghettos of the North and West.

A third shift is also noted in the class bases of the black liberation movement. A task force report submitted to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence notes, "The civil rights movement was largely middle-class and interracial. The liberation movement attempts to integrate middle and lower class elements in rejection of white leadership.[41] Fourth, tactics also have shifted from emphasis on "nonviolence and passive resistance" to "self-defense and freedom by any

[39] 347 U.S. 483,74 S Ct. 686, 98 L. Ed. 873 (1954). The reference is to the Supreme Court decision ordering desegration of schools at all levels of education.

[40] Carmichael, Stokely and Hamilton, Charles V., Black Power, Vintage, New York, 1967, p. xi

[41] Skolnick, Jerome H., Director, Task Force on Violent Aspects of Protest and Confrontation of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, The Politics of Protest, Clarion, New York, N. Y. 10020, 1969, P. 130

means necessary."[42]

Youth concerns have undergone important changes. Militant leaders have pronounced the general civil rights movement dead and have heralded a new phase beginning, of self determination and black rebellion. The Newsweek[43] survey of attitudes of black Americans in 1969 pinpoints the highest percent of disaffected to be among the under-thirty black population of the North. Over one-fourth favored setting up a separate black nation within the United States and close to one-third did not consider America worth fighting for. The group was not separated by education.

Several broad themes relating to self-concept, goals, tactics--have been developed thus far of significance to the black student movement. Important questions have been raised. What progress has been made in the search for an identity? Is the direction of the movement essentially separatist in nature? What choice of tactics is likely to be elected to pursue a particular set of goals? What are the relationships between personality, social background, goals, and tactics? Finally, what is the extent of disorientation to the American political system? Interest in answers to these questions invites a formal research design.

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[42] ibid.

[43] Newsweek, op. cit.

CHAPTER 2 -- THE RESEARCH DESIGN AND PROCEDURE

I Design and Verification of the Questionnaire

II Research in Operation

Chapter 2

The problems discussed so far, and the questions posed by the literature reviewed--together provide a framework within which to select proper measures to probe into the behavioral differences among black students. His opinions of himself, his attitudes toward the larger society, his liklihood to take action, all form a nucleus from which to construct a proper questionnaire. The measures of social background differences present in any large group were added as standard variables of importance in determination of human behavior. Correlations were sought among the variety of attitudes, behavior, social characteristics, life experiences, and so forth.

The objective in establishing a meaningful sequence of relationships is to better understand the educational needs of black college students. The presumption is that race alone is an insufficient criterion for understanding the problems of individual blacks, who are too often lumped together in one undifferentiated mass. Precise knowledge of differences among blacks, rather than obvious similarities, should enable educators to plan better for current needs and to anticipate wisely, future problems.

To achieve the goal to explain differences among black students and to avoid generalizations that may hold true for all students sharing other characteristics not including race, a white control group was added to the broad study. The interview instrument was designed with the plan in mind that questions should be framed in a manner suitable for responses regardless of race. The first section of this chapter provides the rationale, description, and verification of the questionnaire. Secondly, the method of administering the questionnaire is described and the sampling procedure is explained. Last, the method of data analysis is explained.

I Design and Verification of the Questionnaire

Development of the major data gathering instrument took place in the early months of 1970. The final instrument was in shape by June. See Appendix A for the complete instrument. Explanation, validation, and the rationale of the questionnaire follow.

Questions are raised in much of the literature which suggest that attitudes toward existing institutions and feeling of ability to effect change are relevant to political behavior. Charles Silberman states, "The Negro's self-esteem suffers not only from the hurts of discrimination, but also from his sense of powerlessness and impotence, his conviction that whites control everything..."[1] Charles Hamilton argues that "Black Power must ...deal with the obviously growing alienation of black people and their distrust of the institutions of this society."[2] Joel D. Aberbach has devised a measure of political alienation in terms of interpersonal trust and sense of efficacy. His study concludes that "...there is inferential material to support the notion that the powerless are hostile to local authorities..."[3]

The data gathering instrument was designed to investigate each of the phenomena thought to be related to political attitudes and one form

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1. Silberman, Charles E., Crisis in Black and White, Vintage, Random House, New York, 1964, p. 115

2. Hamilton, Charles V., "An Advocate of Black Power Defines It (1968)", in Wagstaff, Thomas, ed., Black Power: The Radical Response to White America, Glencoe Press, Beverly Hills, 1969, p. 126

3. Aberbach, Joel D., "Alienation and Political Behavior, " American Political Science Review, March, 1969, p. 98

of political behavior--protest activity. Included in the instrument are sets of questions on social characteristics of respondents, attitudes toward self, trust in people, feelings of personal and political efficacy, and orientation to existing institutions. One section specifically inquires as to degree and kind of political participation in relation to protest activity.

Initially the interviewer gathered a social profile (Section I) of the interviewee by posing routine questions of age, marital status, length of residence, type of neighborhood, income, religion, etc. A question was posed in this section to establish the interviewee's perception of social class.

Measures of trust in other people, sense of personal competence, and feelings of political efficacy were selected as dependable indicators of human differences. Both the measures of trust and personal competence were of a forced choice (either/or) nature. Measures of political efficacy were on a I to 5 scale.

Section 3 of the instrument includes the Personal Competence (Campbell, et.al., 1960) set of seven questions. These have been used in several ISR studies to establish links between personality and political behavior. The notion of competence is defined as a "feeling of mastery over the self and the environment."[4] The construct validity of the Personal Competence Scale is supported by consistent replications in election studies. Personal competence also has been shown to correlate with trust in people.[5] The three questions on Trust in People (Section 3) were applied to a nationwide sample by ISR. Correlations with efficacious political attitudes

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4. Robinson and Shaver, Measures of Social Psychological Attitudes, IRS, Chap. 3, p. 108

5. Ibid., Chap. 8, p. 530

are impressive.

Political efficacy, or "the feeling that political and social change is possible, and that the individual citizen can play a part in bringing about this change,"[6] has been shown to correlate with level of participation in voting behavior studies. The political efficacy scale (Campbell, et. al., The Voter Decides, Evanston, Illinois, Row, Peterson and Company, 1954)[7] was rephrased and applied to college (Section 2-Handout A) and community (Section 4-Handout C), the foci of this study.

The increasing amount of racial conflict in American colleges and universities, prompted attention to this phenomenon both in relation to student attitudes and behavior. The assumption was that protest activity may be sparked by a number of perceived social ills. The goals of protest activity may, nevertheless, differ in terms of desires to effect change within the existing society or to accumulate sufficient power to remove a specified group from the context and control of the existing society. Or, is the goal essentially separatist or integrative in nature? The reality of either goal is not the question here, but rather the perception of what may be accomplished.

For purposes of analysis, separatism is assumed to include a separate and distinct geographic entity such as is advocated by the Black Muslims. The notion further includes the rhetoric of "self-determination," meaning a minimum (if any) social contact between the races and complete economic and political control of black communities, wherever they exist, by blacks.

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[6] Robinson, Rusk and Read, Measures of Political Attitudes, ISR. Chap. 12, p. 459

[7] Ibid., p. 460

In the educational context, separatism is presumed to mean a separate and distinct black curricula, created, directed and taught by blacks. Questions were designed to pick up white extremists as well, who would also give lip service to the informal notion of complete separation of communities by race.

Integration, on the other hand, is assumed to mean significant restructuring of existing institutions to eliminate racial bias. This would include fair housing, fair employment, public accommodations, and equal educational opportunities.

It was assumed that the integrationist would prefer a free and open housing market where individuals could choose neighborhood and type of dwelling to suit their particular needs. In employment, it is assumed that the integrationist would prefer equal opportunities in an open job market. Although compliance with public accommodations legislation has been good in both the North and South, it is assumed that white and black extremists would prefer separatism in this area.

In education, it is presumed that the integrationist would not object to a few courses focusing totally on black Americans for cultural enrichment, but would object to a black studies major as irrelevant to the reality of American life.[8] It is further presumed that the integrationist would prefer that the contributions of black Americans to history, literature, science, art, and music would be routinely included where relevant in any course.

Questions in the area of voting rights were excluded from this study. The presumption was that the average respondent would be below voting age at the time of the study and not be able to clearly distinguish between participation and boycott of electoral politics.

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[8] This point of view has been expressed by black economist, W. Arthur Lewis, "The Road to the Top is Through Higher Education - Not Black Studies," The New York Times Magazine, May 11, 1969.

The statements on separatism-integration were posed in mixed order as shown in the interview instrument under Section 2, Handout B relating to the educational context, and Section 4, Handout D relating to general attitudes. The two sets of statements were validated by extracting them from the interview instrument and presenting them to a Political Science class (N=58) to check internal consistency of response agreement. Statements were re-phrased where no-match responses exceeded seven.

Political participation in terms of protest or counter-protest activity is investigated in Section 5. Given that we are in a period of rapid social change where conventional values are increasingly challenged, it follows that broad agreement on methods no longer exists. Protestors have moved to unconventional methods to express grievances. These include moving the argument to the street, use of obscenities, destruction of property, fire-bombing, and refusal to conform to the usual decorum in courtroom procedures.

The Participation Scale (Section 5) is an original attempt to differentiate between types of protest activity in which college students would be likely to participate. It is framed in terms of escalating degrees of intensity of activism, first in terms of activity already performed, and second in terms of activity respondent would be willing to perform. Responses fall in "yes," "no," or "don't know" categories. Total sample responses are reported in Chapter 3.

The New Left Scale (Section 6) designed at Columbia (Christie, et al, 1969)[9] is directed measurement of discontent with the existing social order. The scale was specifically developed to monitor attitudes of college students. The ISR commentary was satisfactory in terms of small sample validity and internal consistency. A Likert-scale format was used from 1 to 7.

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[9] Robinson and Shaver, op. cit., Chap. 6, pp. 388-391

The complete scale has 62 items, pro- and anti-Left. I have extracted 15 items (9 pro-Left, 6 anti-Left) of pertinence to this study (Section 6). These include orientations to existing institutions as well as alternative methods of political participation. Some statements were rephrased in more simple language. Measurement of intensity follows the interview format on a 1 to 5 scale.

Open-ended questions were posed in several sections of the interview. The interviewee was asked to characterize his integration experience in Section 1, personal influence at the college in Section 2, and kinds of issues and protest activities in Section 5. Section 7 was all open-ended. The interviewee was invited to discuss his likes and dislikes about the St. Louis area, his likes and dislikes about the college, and his evaluation in general of educational opportunities in the St. Louis area. He further was asked to characterize race relations locally and to describe the ideal place to live. The rationale for this part of the instrument was an attempt to define orientations to the community, which might serve as a building block to improve race relations.

Section 8 of the interview instrument asks the interviewer to note his observation of respondent's personal appearance. The rationale for skin color differentiation is to determine whether or not the color caste system is still relevant to black Americans.

The overall design of the questionnaire was to alternate oral and written parts of the interview to avoid fatigue or boredom.

Non-controversial kinds of questions were at the beginning of the interview. More sensitive issues were introduced later when it was presumed the interviewer would have established some rapport with the interviewee. The interviewers reported no difficulties administering the instrument.

Prior clearance of the instrument was received by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The instrument also was submitted to and approved by Washington University as appropriate to proper standards of research dealing with human subjects.

II Research in Operation

Lack of candor characterizes interview situations involving people of different races. The key personnel were selected to avoid race bias. Project interviewers numbered four, two black--one male and one female; and two white--one male and one female. Each was carefully selected as to personality, separately trained in the mechanics of interviewing, and thoroughly coached as to the importance of the project.[10] By and large, we were able to keep both race and sex constant by our system of setting up appointments. Errors in appointments by race were corrected on several occasions by the interviewers themselves. In two cases, one white male and one white female were interviewed by the black male and black female interviewers respectively. The interviewers reported "no problems" in both cases. Sex was kept constant in all cases but four. One white male was interviewed by the white female interviewer, and three black females were interviewed by the black male interviewer.

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[10] I am indebted for excellent background material to Backstrom, Charles H. and Hursh, Gerald D., Survey Research, Northwestern University Press, Evanston, 1963

A random sample of the student population was taken from the first registration list plus the list of late registrants. Early registration figures provided by the Office of the Registrar indicated 4784 in the first list, plus 563 late registrants for a total of 5347. Ten percent of the college population was drawn from these lists. The decision to work with the early lists was based on a probable delay of one month for computer service in order to obtain the second registration list. No screening was done between part and full time, or between day and night students. Each group is viewed as part of the college community and therefore as relevant subjects of inquiry.

Names were drawn in the amount of 478 from the first registration list by pulling every 10th label from an alphabetical computer print-out of all names. A list of late registrants was obtained by checking fee receipts and drawing every 10th name to add to the sample. This provided an additional 56 names for a total of 534. In some cases, labels on the computer print-out contained only the name and no address. We were able to locate addresses through file records in all cases except two. These names were deleted from the sample. A letter was constructed to go out to the remaining students.

The breakdown of the sample population is shown in Table 2.1 Identification by race of those in the sample with whom we had no physical contact was made largely by address. In a few cases, where addresses were incorrect or not informative, identification was decided by names.

Response to the first letter was good and sufficient to lead to appointments for 130 to 150 people. Telephone contact was initiated at the same time to recruit interviewees where the number of scheduled interviews was running low. In that the smallest part of the sample was the black male

Table 2.1

Respondent	(Number)	(Percent)
White male	174	32.7
White female	129	24.2
Black female	128	24.1
Black male	101	19.0
Population total	532	100.0

group, the earliest and most intensive efforts were in this category. Follow up was equally intensive, but later, in the white female and black female groups. Some telephone contact and recruitment through classroom instructors occurred in the white male group, but efforts were less intensive in this group.

A reminder was sent out by mail approximately two weeks after the initial letter. For those students who could be identified by program, further efforts were made by requesting their classroom instructors to encourage the student to participate. A report form was sent to the instructor to return to the Project Director. Table 2.2 illustrates the results of the contact by group.

A total of 303 valid interviews were completed. Appointments were made for 46 additional people to be interviewed which were not kept. All potential interviewees received an appointment form either in person or by mail to serve as a reminder. Those who failed to keep their appointments received a follow-up note. The reasons for non-execution of interviews varied. In some cases the interviewer cancelled and we were unable to reschedule the appointment. In other cases where two appointments were made

Table 2.2

Respondent	Completed Interviews	App'ts Made But Not Kept	Refused To Be Interviewed	Lost	No Personal Contact Made	Total
White Male	78 (45%)	15 (9%)	2 (1%)	11(6%)	68 (39%)	174 (100%)
White Female	81 (63%)	10 (8%)	8 (6%)	7 (5%)	23 (18%)	129 (100%)
Black Female	84 (66%)	11 (9%)	3 (2%)	1 (0%)	29 (23%)	128 (100%)
Black Male	*60 (60%)	10 (10%)	4 (4%)	6 (6%)	20 (20%)	*100 (100%)

*61 of 101 respondents were completed. One was deleted at interviewer's suggestion. Interviewee insisted a 3rd person be present.

and neither kept, we dropped efforts at further contact.

Flat refusals to be interviewed numbered seventeen. Some of these were received by letter, others by telephone, others in person. Another 25 were designated lost. Included in this count were initial letters returned without being delivered; no record anywhere in dictrict cross files of the student; and responses from someone receiving the student's mail that the student had left town, dropped out of school, was drafted, etc. The remainder of the sample where no personal follow up was made, in many cases was because the student had no telephone. In the white male group, less effort was made in that response from the largest group was adequate.

Office space and facilities were provided for the interviewers by Forest Park Community College. Three adjacent offices were allocated for use. Comfortable, quiet surroundings were provided to execute the interviews. A number system was used to guarantee anonymity of the student. Names of participants subsequently were destroyed.

All interviews were executed in the period October 5 to November 17, 1970, with the bulk of the interviews complete in the first four weeks.

Daily records were kept of the progress of the project. Each interviewer received a copy of his schedule for the next day one day in advance. Phone numbers were provided whenever possible, to enable the interviewer to confirm his appointment and thereby remind interviewees to come. The schedule was returned to the Project Director the next day, accompanied with the number of the Interview Instrument or by an explanation why any one interview was not executed. This enabled us to follow up each missed appointment and keep records of those completed. The interviewers faithfully reported each contact.

At the completion of the interviews, a code book was designed as the initial step in processing the data. Open-ended questions were given numeric categories after a reading of 80 or 25% of the instruments. Information was transferred to data sheets and then key punched on cards by assistants at Forest Park college. All cards were verified at the district computer center.

The NUCROS[11] cross-tabulation program was modified for use to district computer storage facilities. Simple 2-variable correlations were run with card control for race. In order to run more complex correlations, the project was moved to the Washington University computer center. The larger storage capacity of the Washington facilities allowed us to control for third and fourth variables. The NUCROS program was used at both centers.

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11. Program description and instructions were taken from Janda, Kenneth, Data Processing, Application to Political Research, 2nd ed., Northwestern Univ., Press, Evanston, 1965, pp. 161-167, Appendix Cl

CHAPTER 3 -- THE RESEARCH SITE

I The Institution

II The Students

III Role of the Researcher

Chapter 3

A case study is of value in social science research if the research site has sufficient similarity to other areas so that hypotheses or recommendations are relevant to other institutions. Forest Park Community College was selected as a college having general applicability to student protest, and especially to the concerns of black students. The college is an urban, two-year institution, located in a major American city, St. Louis, Missouri. The diversity of the student body is legion, attracting as it has a broad range of age groups, social classes, and fields of interest. In addition, the racial composition of Forest Park is 40 to 45% black, and as such presents a rare opportunity to study integration at work.

As author of this research effort, I should explain my role and background. I joined the faculty of Forest Park in fall 1967 as an instructor in Political Science. Some of the observations in this chapter are based on my own experience. Interest in the progress of race relations and in the educational needs of a fascinating cross section of society, as well as the national discontent of college students, followed naturally from being in the midst of it.

The data and tables presented herein are based on a random sample of the student body taken in fall 1970, for use in this project. This chapter presents a description of the educational setting in which the college functions, vignettes characterizing composites of students I have known, general distribution breakdowns of the data based on a frequency count, and an explanation of the development over time of the interests of the researcher.

I The Institution

Belief in a free public education for all is a part of the early American heritage. The amount of time per year and the number of years that Americans spend in some sort of formal instruction has lengthened over time. The technological state demands personnel with special training. It also provides the citizens of the state with increasing amounts of leisure time in which to pursue interests not necessarily related to the means of making a living. In either case, another dimension of educational opportunity has been added by the junior college movement. Growth has been so rapid that no one is sure one year how many new colleges will open the next year.

A public community college receives its financial support from all three levels of government--national, state, and local. Contributions from the federal government normally are small and earmarked for specific outlays, such as building funds. In Missouri, a low tax but anti-tax state, the state itself has not kept up with other states in the union, and dropped from about one-third of the cost of educating the student in 1969-70 to one-fourth in 1970-71. The Junior College District of St. Louis-St. Louis County relies on the goodwill of the local voter where the bulk of financial support rests.

In January 1971, the college district, not yet ten years old, was cited by the College Entrance Examination Board as among the nation's leaders "in offering easily accessible post-secondary education to large numbers of persons."[1] Unusual leadership in the person of Dr. Joseph P. Cosand, President of the Junior College District was a part of the citation.

[1] St. Louis Post-Dispatch, January 3, 1971

The easy accessibility of the district to black students, which was the crux of the award, was an obvious reference to Forest Park Community College, the central city campus of the multi-college district. On February 16, 1971, the local voters rejected for the second time a bid for a small property tax increase to support the Junior College District. The money was needed to offset reduced state aid. Enrollment had increased to over 19,500 total of the three colleges at the time of the tax defeat.

An inquiring reporter for the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, metropolitan daily, asked a few voters why they voted against the Junior College District. From the Forest Park service area, one comment was, "Kids giving orders all the time, demanding this, demanding that. And those goddamned teachers taking it. If you ask me, it's a lot of baloney."[2] Another comment ran, "I was talking to some of the guys who went over to Forest Park, and they said the only people over there are niggers. I'm not voting for niggers. They don't want an education. They just want to raise hell."[3] Inside the college the picture looks a little different.

The sample for this study taken in fall 1970 revealed the population to be 42.9% black, slightly more than that estimated for the previous year when the estimate was 40%.[4] A breakdown of the population by sex in the sample showed 52.4% male, also a percentage increase in male students from the previous year.

Among Forest Park students is Mary H., white, female, age 47, suburban

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2. St. Louis Post-Dispatch, February 22, 1971

3. ibid.

4. No records by race are kept at Forest Park. This was the working figure used as a basis to negotiate student demands for the 1969-70 academic year.

housewife, children all grown or in college. Mary says to her advisor, "I don't know what to do when I finish here. I'd like to transfer and get a degree in counseling and guidance. By the time I have the M. S., I'll be past fifty. Do you think I'll be able to get a job?" The question is really, "Is there anything useful left in life that I can do?" Community college personnel are called upon to cope with these kinds of problems-- discrimination because of age, discrimination because of sex.

Forest Park College offers a wide choice of two year, career-bound programs in answer to the question of those who seek training for a specific occupation. Typical programs in the career area are nursing, restaurant management, law enforcement, fire protection, automotive technology, secretarial training, hospital records. In addition, a program to upgrade neglected reading and math skills is offered in conjunction with intensive counseling and group guidance. This program entitled General Curriculum has drawn national attention for its remedial recovery work. A special recruitment program, privately funded, whose efforts are directed to the poor, is entitled Project Ahead. Breakdown of enrollment based on the present sample by program or recruitment is in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1

Name of Program	Percent of Total Enrollment*	Number
General Curriculum	11.6	55
Project Ahead	2.0	6
Business	13.5	41
Liberal Arts	32.7	99
Career	36.0	109

* Column does not add up to 100% in that remainder were no answer or don't know.

Informal conversation with educators from Forest Park and state legislators followed a public hearing of the Missouri House of Representatives Education Committee. Representatives from the area of South St. Louis, a hardcore anti-tax area, whose constituents are in the Forest Park college vicinity, fired a number of questions and comments at us.

"The parking lot, the gymnasium--what do you need with an Olymphic-size swimming pool?"

"Physical education is an important part of a college program."

"Not for junior colleges!"

"It's all right for Notre Dame to have a football team, but junior college students can't have a basketball team?"[5]

"The theatre building--the student center--why do you have to have those fancy trimmings?"

"Arts and recreation are part of education and should not be limited to the privileged."

"You burned up an $8000 piano. Is that any way to behave?"

"No, it is not. We abhor property destruction. There is no evidence, however, that the fire was started by our students. We are in the heart of the city and are subject to incidents of vandalism as well as any other public building."

"Gentlemen, I hope you will increase state aid to public colleges. Support is needed so that in a few years, someone else will not have to discuss the needs of the same people before the welfare committee."

[5] Football is not a part of the St. Louis-St. Louis County Junior college program. No athletic scholarships are awarded for any sport.

The St. Louis area junior colleges in the district are open-door colleges, meaning there is no cutoff point in test scores which operates to screen applicants for higher education. The only requirement is either a high school diploma or a passing grade on the high school equivalency exam (GED). The policy results in a wide range of student characteristics in that it attracts both the student unable to afford the high prestige private universities in the vicinity, and the student (with or without financial constraints) who cannot qualify academically for other colleges and universities.

In answer to a question regarding attendance at another college prior to entering Forest Park, one-third responded "yes." Of this group, a majority had been in attendance at a four year college or university. Cases have been observed whereby students performed poorly in another college setting and the community college provided a second chance. In these types of transfers, often some years have elasped between the first and second attempt, and the edge of maturity makes a considerable difference in performance. More than once a male student has announced he has decided to go into the army and then re-enter college, because, "The veterans are so relaxed here and are not worried about grades."

Students also transfer from resident colleges when financial considerations or changes in marital status force a re-consideration of life styles. In the survey, which inquired as to the reason students picked Forest Park as their college, 71.9% stated convenience of location, price, or both. The essence of the community college clearly has been its easy accessibility and low cost opportunity. Hostility of the local voter to widespread confusion on American campuses is a genuine threat to the philosophy and life of the community college.

II The Students

"What are the black students like?" is a frequent question asked of white Forest Park faculty members by outsiders. The question itself is annoying. But, despite weariness with stereotyping, the question is answered,

"They are just like the white students--all different from each other."

Perhaps James Baldwin says it better, "...though white people often seem to expect Negroes to produce nothing, but exceptions, the fact it that Negroes are really just like everybody else. Some of them are exceptional and most of them are not."[6]

Among the exceptional is John W., black male, age 35, twelve year Post Office employee. John stops in a faculty office to discuss his future. He is finishing two years of studies in art and has found to his amazement that he is good. He can paint; he can sculpt. "I never dreamed while working at the Post Office of going to college until the Junior College opportunity opened." Based on the quality of his academic standing, John received a letter urging him to apply for a scholarship in order to continue his studies at a four year institution. Excitement at expanded horizons, heretofore unthinkable, is clearly evident. The man has a wife and three children and all the attendant obligations. In addition, the time in at the Post Office adds up to numerous employee benefits. What to do? These are the kinds of problems Forest Park has.

The composite characterization of the Forest Park student is that he is under twenty, he works, and he is single. A statistical breakdown of those interviewed from the survey sample showed 64.7% work, 38.3% full time

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6. Baldwin, James, Nobody Knows My Name, The Dial Press, New York, 1961, p. 105

and 26.4% part time. Marital status breaks down as 70.6% - single, 22.1% - married, the remainder - divorced, separated, or widowed. Contrary to myths about immaturity of college students, only 47.2% are under 20. The next largest age group is between 20-29 with 41.3% in this category. The 30-39 group is 8.9% of the population, and the over 40 group, 2.6%.

A prolonged strike--by local utility workers, by the United Auto Workers, by the Teamsters--it does not matter which - each dip in the economy or change in local employment causes a functioning classroom to shrink as students disappear to attend to other pressing problems. Not unusual other explanations received for courses dropped are "work hours changed," "drafted," "death in the family," "leaving town." More than likely when the emergency is over, the student will be back.

The random sample of students in this survey showed 48.5% just entering Forest Park. Second semester students numbered 12.9%, third - 17.5%, fourth - 7.9%. In addition, 12.5% stated they had been at the college more than four semesters. Explanation for this number lies in the fact that students often enroll at less than full time[7] and proceed at a pace commensurate with their other plans and life situation.

Faculty at Forest Park college pay attention to the cost of course materials. Whether a book is $2.95 or $3.95 may make a difference in which week the student can buy it. The following tables will show that most of the students are not the victims of extreme poverty in that it is no doubt rare that extremely poor people would appear, without extensive recruitment, at a community college. The students, however, are accustomed to handling

[7] One survey taken by the college in July 1970 of applicants for fall, showed 39.7% to be "special status," meaning planning to take 6 hours or less.

their own finances and are acutely aware of the price of everything. For example, several student-initiated boycotts of the college cafeteria were successful in obtaining wide support throughout the college. Prices were reduced and food services increased.

The survey inquired as to what social class a student belonged to, and 46.2% stated working class and 52.2% middle class. The occupation of the student's father was answered mainly in blue collar areas, both laborer and skilled workers. Together these two occupations totaled 58.7% of the sample. This percent of blue collar workers is higher than for the population at large, and considerably higher than what is normal at college and universities. White collar--clerical, sales ranked third. See Table 3.2 for breakdown. Income range centers at $7000-10,000 with 22.5% above that range and 38.0% below. Table 3.3 illustrates the breakdown.

Table 3.2

Father's Occupation	Percent*	Number
Skilled worker	29.7	90
Laborer	29.0	88
White collar (clerical, sales)	15.8	48
Business (own or manage)	5.6	17
Professional	3.6	11
Farmer	3.0	9
Law enforcement, military	2.6	8
Other	2.6	8

* Percent does not add up to 100%. Some did not answer or did not know.

Table 3.3

Income	Percent*	Number
Under $3000	6.6	20
$3000-5000	13.9	42
$5000-7000	17.5	53
$7000-10,000	31.4	95
$10,000-15,000	17.5	53
Over $15,000	5.0	15

* Percent does not add up to 100%. 3 refused; 22 did not know.

In general, the Forest Park student is likely to be the clerk who checks you out of the grocery store, the ticket-taker at the ballpark, the food server at the corner hamburger chain, the umpire at the Khoury League game, the business trainee. The student is an office manager, a secretary, a steel worker, a saleslady, a truck driver, a nun, a postal clerk, a housewife. Some come to train for a position in life, other to broaden their perspectives, a few in search of knowledge for its own sake. Forest Park is a summary of diversity offering in microcosm a panorama of the total society. Much of what can be learned is not in any particular book or classroom, but rather a gift of experience, offered in every corner of the college.

A large majority of Forest Park's students grew up in the St. Louis area. Some 80.2% answered "yes" to this question. The survey breakdown by location is shown in Table 3.4. Of students who did not grow up in the area, 28 (8.9%) were from the South, and 33 (10.6%) from non-South. In addition, 37.3% of the student's fathers were born in St. Louis, and 42.9% of the mothers.

Table 3.4

Part of St. Louis area student grew up in.	Percent	Number
South St. Louis	29.7	90
Central St. Louis	14.5	44
North St. Louis	12.5	38
West St. Louis	9.9	30
St. Louis County	7.9	24
Different places in the city	1.7	5
Mixed city-county	1.3	4
Mixture-St. Louis area and other	2.0	6

Despite the remarkable stability demonstrated in Table 3.4, 64.0% have lived in their present address under 10 years. The American penchant to move about in an area no doubt is shared by St. Louisans as well. A majority (56.4%) stated they lived in homes that were owned by themselves or their families. Types of dwelling were a majority of single family homes, also numbering 56.4%. The breakdown on the question as to with whom the student lives is shown in Table 3.5.

Russell Lynes, in an article on junior colleges, reports in 1966[8] that authorities on higher education expect less than one-third to transfer to four year institutions although two-thirds to three-fourths state an intention to do so. A more recent study on all higher education was published by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The report pointed out that of those entering college now, less than half finish two

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[8] Harper's, selection by Lynes, Russell, "How Good Are the Junior Colleges," Nov. 1966, p. 55

Table 3.5

Student lives with	Percent	Number
Both parents	46.5	141
Spouse	21.1	64
Mother only	12.9	39
Other relatives	7.6	23
Alone	6.6	20
Father only	3.0	9
Friends	2.3	7

years of study and about one-third finish four years.[9] It does not appear that any marked differences exist between types of institutions or in the five years between reports. If failure to obtain a degree is a measure of success of American education, and I am not at all sure that this is a viable theory, then the errors still are being compounded.

The hopes and dreams of all students do not necessarily relate to degrees or certificates. Questions were posed about the future as to whether or not they planned to make the St. Louis area their permanent home. A definite yes was the answer from 42.5%; 38.6% said no; and 18.8% did not know. Next we asked where the students thought the ideal place to live would be. The dream of a better life in the West lives on in that 28.7% mentioned a Western state. Second named in answer to this question at 19.8%, was some specific part of the St. Louis area. A significant 8.6% named a foreign country[10] (Canada was popular), and a cynical 6.9% stated there

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9. Report summary published by the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, March 9, 1971, Article by Wyant, William K., Jr., "Panel Criticizes College Policies"

10. A Gallup poll published in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, March 21, 1971, reported 12% nationally would like to live abroad.

was no ideal place to live. Table 3.6 illustrates the breakdown

Table 3.6

Ideal place to live	Percent*	Number
Western state	28.7	87
Specific part of St. Louis area	19.8	60
Foreign country	8.6	26
No ideal place	6.9	21
Rural area or smaller town	6.6	20
Eastern state	6.3	19
Southern state	5.9	18
Midwestern state	3.6	11
Other	5.0	15

* Column does not add up to 100% in that some responded "Don't know" or did not answer.

Contributing to the background of the research interest is the story of a black G. I., top student, who stops in to see me one day. The problem is his kid brother Tom, who had been graduated first in his class in one of the city public all-black high schools. At this point in history it is good to be black and bright, and the younger brother is offered scholarships to a number of high prestige private universities in the North and Northeast. The time is early November, midterm grades are out, and Tom is flunking. He wants to come home Thanksgiving and stay home. My advice is that Tom is young and homesick. Get tough. Make him stick it out.

What gnaws at the back of the mind day after day is the all-black high school where Tom was Number One, and the affluent 98% white, private university. The change in social milieu, the cultural shock--no one prepared this student to move into another world. No wonder he cannot study. On the other hand, the suave sophisticated brother who has done his hitch in the army and moves with ease in an integrated setting is doing top work at Forest Park. This is the beginning of the focus and emphasis on the integration experience. When? How much? How long? The socialization procedure into all of the American black and white worlds must have an important effect on subsequent behavior.

A check of the survey figures shows the following breakdown in terms of high school integration background. See Table 3.7. A significant percent appear to be coming from largely segregated backgrounds. The number coming from parochial schools also invited further scrutiny in that the parochial schools were mostly Catholic, and these high schools were desegregated before 1954. A breakdown of the religious preference in the survey is shown in Table 3.8.

Table 3.7

High School	Percent	Number
City--public--predominantly black	27.4	83
Parochial (Catholic, Lutheran)	24.8	75
City--public--predominantly white	17.2	52
St. Louis County--public--predom. white	9.6	29
GED*	5.3	16
Other Missouri high school	2.3	7
Out of state	13.5	41

* General Equivalency Diploma

Table 3.8

Religion	Percent	Number
Catholic	35.6	108
Baptist	26.1	81
None	10.6	32
Lutheran	6.6	20
Methodist	5.0	15
Other Protestant	9.6	29
Jewish	3.0	9
Other Non-Christian	3.0	9

III Role of the Researcher

Out of suburban security and freshly released from constant child care, I arrived at Forest Park as a new faculty member with most of the cultural myths intact. Qualifications for my job were a brand new Master's Degree in Political Science, training as a social scientist (but no experience), some share of human warmth, and a considerable determination to understand the people with whom I was to share knowledge. It was the fall of 1967 and the college campuses were quiet.

My education in race relations began with the black faculty and administrators, who must spend a lot of time socializing white people, one by one, into the competence of black people. The black students at this point seemed very shy, are very quiet, and are not found in very great numbers in my classes. The better students tended to be female, and in fact, the black male is largely absent. The next year there are more black students and more males. Natural hair styles began to appear here and there, and the changes we had been reading about in the west coast start to mushroom in the Midwest.

My area of interest focused on state and urban politics and especially on race relations. The summer of 1968 I started to research the field locally and seek a fit with what literature was available on northern cities.[11] I began to teach a course in this area in my second year at Forest Park. After class one day in the fall of 1968, I was courteously approached by four black males who explained their preference in terminology. "We'd like you to use the word 'black' when your lecture refers to us. 'Negro' has a connotation of slavery and subsurvience, and we don't like to use the word any more." This request was complied with.

In the same academic year an all-black student organization was formed called the Association of Black Collegians, one of seven in the St. Louis Metropolitan area. The organization remained small in number, but had a great many sympathizers. Sporadic incidents in the spring of 1969 centering on Malcolm X day and other occasions forecast the clashes which would occur the next year. A triggering incident in early fall led to the temporary suspension of the organization and polarization of the college right and left. The nationwide moratorium on Vietnam provided the impetus for a complete explosion of tempers, and the college closed several days as it succumbed to the national malady. The usual compromises were made, and most of the promises kept, but times are uneasy, and doubts still arise as to whether or not the problems are really understood.

Daily contact with the vibrant flow of black youth should prepare the social scientist to construct some theories, test some hypotheses, and recommend some actions. One experience after another finally compounds into a coherent whole, defines the research focus, influences the value position. Other incidents plug into the picture which is beginning to emerge.

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[11] "Negro Political Patterns in St. Louis", an unpublished manuscript, was the title of the research effort.

The day after the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (1968), having no classes, I went out to a popular restaurant to hear what people were saying. Sitting alone at a table, I was approached by Alex R. one of my black students who worked as a draftsman for an architectural firm in the neighborhood. As he stopped to chat with me, conversation stopped all over the restaurant, I could feel race tension as people in the vicinity stiffened themselves.

We discussed the term paper he was working on and his transfer plans for his junior year. We exchanged condolences regarding the loss of Dr. King. Alex predicted correctly, "I imagine there will be some serious repercussions around the nation." In retrospect, more serious still is a situation in which suspicion must accompany an interracial conversational exchange. I shall need, I felt, to look deeper into the field of race relations. If the educational job remains undone, then perhaps we still do not understand the problem.

Stereotypes abound in our society--(all white people look alike)--and the need to understand individual differences among human beings becomes evident to the researcher. Matthew P. stops in the office to explain his late term paper. He had been picked up in a police roundup, which is nothing unusual for city blacks. He told the story of a street robbery in which a white workman had been robbed by one short and one tall black young males. A group of college students congregating in the vicinity several days later, were picked up. Matthew was the shortest, and a friend going to a down state college was the tallest of the group. They were identified by the victim in a lineup as the robbers. As Matthew explained it, "He was one of those white people who think Negroes all look alike, and he picked us. My friend wasn't even in town at the time of the robbery."

Mrs. P. had trouble raising bail for her son and he was in jail three days. Six months and $800 later the charges were dismissed. Matthew's paper on "equal opportunity," incidentally, was one day late.

Those who teach in the inner city learn to accept an arrest, a detention, a courtroom appearance as among the legitimate reasons for missing a test or cutting a class. The white student who lets his hair grow tells me he is coming to realize the same experience. Automatic assumptions based on appearance--color, hair, whatever--these are an insult to a number of young Americans. They also are a common ground of experiences.

The wide variety of experiences that both black and white students described to me over my several years at Forest Park, sparked my interest to distinguish among the students, differences based on a systematic study. Among the measures selected to distinguish personality differences thought to be related to political behavior were trust in people. Table 3.9 illustrates the breakdown of the total sample, black and white. The three questions on trust were of a forced-choice nature. No trusting responses were scored 1, and three trusting responses were scored 4.[12] The general pattern of the college shows an equal distribution with close to 60% leaning to the trusting side. Meaningful interpretation of this measure and those following await separation of the data by other variables.

A second measure of interest selected to distinguish among the students was the personal competence scale. This measure consisted of 7 questions,

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[12] Elimination of the zero was for convenience in statistical analysis by computer.

Table 3.9

Trust in People		Percent	Number
Low	1	20.5	62
Medium low	2	21.1	64
Medium high	3	28.7	87
High	4	29.7	90

also of a forced choice nature. No competent answers were scored 1, and all competent answers were scored 8. The distribution of the total sample, black and white, is shown in Table 3.10. The bulk of the sample centers in the middle range of personal competence with the highest percent scoring 6 and 5 respectively. The distribution of the scores is broad enough to invite further scrutiny of the data in correlation with other variables.

Table 3.10

Personal Competence Score		Percent	Number
Low	1	.7	2
	2	1.7	5
	3	9.2	28
	4	18.2	55
	5	21.5	65
	6	24.4	74
	7	18.2	55
High	8	6.3	19

Political efficacy or the feeling an individual has ability to effect change, was measured in two ways, one in questions regarding the college, As an adjunct to my growing interest to distinguish systematically among students by personal traits, an interest grew regarding student attitudes toward the American political system and policy decisions emanating from the system. The American political party battle has been assumed to exist within a broad area of consensus. V. O. Key, Jr. states, "Any competitive party system must rest on an agreement among all concerned about certain fundamental principles. In the United States, as in other working democratic regimes, such a consensus on fundamentals prevails, though no precise understanding may exist about what the fundamentals are."[13] My experience in my role as instructor in American politics is that the fundamentals are so elusive that we can no longer walk into a classroom and assume a broad area of agreement, or even a universality of belief in the legitimacy of the American political system. Belligerent and angry challenges the first week or two of classes are nothing unusual. The questioning may come from barefoot whites or turned-off blacks but it is usually there. Time is needed to establish a rapport and a sense of mutual respect.

The rhetoric of radical revolutions and simple solutions moves about the buildings of all college campuses. For example, the word "socialism" is bandied about enough that a number of students have stopped in to try out the word and see what it means. Bobby Seale or Angela Davis buttons alert the political scientist to the broader political scene that the students are watching. As a researcher, one should investigate both the appeal of the New Left movement -- what may be viewed as anti-system sentiments -- and the appeal of separatist tendencies, also a part of current, radical black sentiment. Questions have been selected, which specifically

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13. Key. V. O., Jr., Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups, 5th ed., Thomas Y. Crowell Co., New York, 1964, p. 222

monitor discontent with the existing social order. Another set of questions has been designed to distinguish between attitudes oriented to separatism and attitudes oriented to integration. Distribution on these attitudes are discussed in detail in subsequent chapters.

City college students constantly amaze me. The many lives they successfully juggle into one, the wealth of knowledge they already have before formal study is undertaken, the communications network for supply and exchange of information--all add up to a warm, fascinating conglommerate of people from whom I continually learn. In the formality of teaching Urban Politics, I find for the local scene, I can do the ecology, show population shifts and changes in voting strength. I can compare ward returns, trace the history of party dominance over time, demonstrate the early entry into politics of the black St. Louisan. But as to the nitty gritty of what's really going on, the students tell me. Collegians, who grow up in the central city, know a lot that is not in the textbooks.

In the spring of 1969 the white students stop by to tell me the rumor. "We hear Badaracco's[14] going to win."

"Don't be ridiculous. With 4 out of 28 Republican wards in the city, a Republican can't win a city wide office."

Badaracco won the election. White South St. Louis turned out heavy. The eight black wards boycotted the election in that a black had not been nominated by the Democrats. The black students filled in the rest of the story. "The word was out to stay home." Of those who voted, a number switched party.

End of spring semester 1969, the black students stop in after class.

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[14] Badaracco was the Republican candidate for President of the Board of Alderman, elected at large, city of St. Louis.

"Doesn't look like any trouble this summer."

"I'm glad to hear that."

"But, you know, the churches...they really haven't done their share."

The summer of 1969 was the time of disruption of one church service after another throughout the St. Louis metropolitan area. I remember thinking, "...the students told me. I just was not listening." I decided to stop teaching local politics and let them tell me what was going on.

One student in particular served to synthesize for me this last focus of interest. This student used to disappear and reappear regularly with the local black/white confrontations. The student, Albert F., was a very bright, very angry black G. I., who was rarely seen out of his combat boots. He disappeared when a black widow with eight children had her house bombed for daring to move into an all white, poor neighborhood. We heard that black vigilantes were standing guard around the clock. Albert disappeared when some of the integregated high schools in the area split open with race problems. He disappeared every time something was happening in the city whether or not the story was in the papers. He appeared in my office one morning, disheveled and cut up.

"I was beat up by the police last night...I've decided you're right," he said slamming his fist down on my desk. "I'll beat them with my head. I'm going to be a lawyer. There has to be another way."

The commitment to action, the wealth of information available to the activists, the measured use of time as a precious resource--all alert the researcher to inquire as to the kind and degree of political participation. Given the nature of the disruptions at the college and problems in the community, how many have participated in some sort of protest activity? How many, if sufficiently interested in an issue, might engage in some sort of protest in the future? What kinds of issues interested them? A set of questions was designed to determine what type and extent of protest activities might the students participate in. And who is likely to manifest this kind of behavior at all?

Table 3.13 illustrates that a high percent of the survey sample have signed petitions. A good number have attended rallies and have tried to persuade others to their point of view. Very few have destroyed property. A higher percent have protected it. The kinds of issues varied, and an interesting 17.5% were involved more than once. Table 3.14 gives the breakdown. Results of the protest activity are shown in Table 3.15. Success or partial success is reported in 31.4% of the cases.

Table 3.13

Protest Participation	Percent yes	Number
Petition--to object to a policy	57.4	174
to uphold a policy	32.0	97
Stay home	27.1	82
Attend rally--to object to a policy	26.7	81
to uphold a policy	11.6	35
Observe picket line	22.8	69
Persuade others--to go along with protest	21.5	65
not to go along with protest	21.8	66
Cross picket line	12.9	39
Walk the picket line	3.0	9
Protest Property	8.9	27
Destroy Property	2.3	7

Table 3.14

Kinds of Issues	Percent	Number
High school, or at another college	21.1	64
Local college issue	14.9	45
Local city issue	3.3	10
National issue	4.6	14
More than 1 college issue	3.3	10
More than 1 kind of issue	14.2	43

Table 3.15

Results of Protest	Percent*	Number
No change	17.8	54
Partially successful	18.2	55
Successful	13.2	40
No answer	7.9	24
Don't know	8.3	25

* 33.3% (N=101) of respondents were not asked this question.

An explosive potential exists for the future. Students were asked how they would react to an issue on which they felt strongly. Table 3.16 demonstrates their answers to this question and suggests the nature of peace is tenuous.

Table 3.16

Would participate in future	Percent Answering Yes	Number
Rally	92.7	281
Petition	88.1	267
Persuade others (try to)	72.9	221
Picket	57.1	173
Protest property	53.8	163
Strike	50.5	153
Cross line	42.2	128
Stay home	29.4	89
Destroy Property	5.6	17

Overheard at the Midwest Political Science Association meeting....

Where were you social scientists fifteen years before the riots in Detroit? We're not interested in talking to you now....

You mean to say the only changes implemented in Detroit were in administrative reform so that people can be processed more rapidly? Then it will happen again....I hear the University of Minnesota is recruiting black students. Do you think you could take the cold up there? Baby, I've been cold all my life....Don't forget the only functioning Model Cities is in Chicago. Sure the machine runs it. Is it an exercize in democracy or a question of bureaucracy? I'm just telling you, it functions....At Wisconsin, I don't leave any of my research on campus. I carry with me only what I need each day. And now, student radicals are starting to come around our homes. I'll have to get out....Of course, the question needed to be raised whether Bobby Seale or any other black can get a fair trial in the United States. And equally important is the question whether or not black people think there is justice for them in the United States....

PART II

Part I discussed the background of the study, the research site, the methodology, and the problems which sparked the study. Part II reports the results of the study based on a number of computer runs constructed to correlate key independent variables with the dependent variables. A certain constellation of political attitudes, those oriented to separatism-integration and those inquiring as to New Left sentiments, constituted two of the major dependent variables. An important focus of interest or the third dependent variable, was a particular aspect of political behavior, protest activity.

An additional interest of the research project was to establish relationships between social characteristics, such as age, class, sex, religion and the aforementioned attitudes and behavior. Concern with identity or self-concept and the relationship to attitudes, behavior, and social characteristics, was another dimension of the research project. Measures used to tap this notion were trust in people, personal competence, and sense of political efficacy. Interest in the effect of integration on the dependent variables, formed the last major area of investigation.

Chapters 4 and 5 have a black emphasis. Chapter 4 reports on the measures of trust, personal competence, and political efficacy. Each of these were found to have no correlation to the dependent variables. However, other significant relationships were established between these variables and certain social characteristics. Chapter 5 spells out the details of the political attitudes investigated and statements of protest activity, past and future, as a form of political behavior. The relationships of social group memberships to the dependent variables are established.

A major independent variable having an effect on the political attitudes investigated and on protest behavior, emerged as experience with integration.

The integration experience, especially in education, and how early in life, becomes a full discussion in Chapter 6. This chapter reports the findings with equal attention to the black and white experience.

CHAPTER 4 -- ON BLACK SOCIOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES

I Trust

II Personal Competence

III Political Efficacy

IV Race Relations

V The Findings

Chapter 4

> "The more fundamental question is whether color alone is a unifying force sufficient to weld together in a monolithic (or, better, monochromatic) sociopolitical movement a black minority exhibiting an immense spectrum of needs, want, desires, and intentions based on conflicting systems of value."[1]

Barriers to understanding are built by the penchant to stereotype people who fall into one or another typical sociological grouping. The categorization of people by race, sex, income, age, occupation is obviously a useful method for social scientists to analyze data. And in many cases, we find group membership whether primary, secondary, or categoric has significant relationships to other manifestations of behavior. On the other hand, the classification of black people by race alone as a basis of generalization is fraught with dangers of over-simplification. In the first place, the group itself is large in number and is sufficiently dispersed that life experiences vary greatly. In the second place, the infinite variety of personality, attitudes, and behavior is often lost in the attempt to draw broad generalizations of use to researchers. And third, other useful sociological groupings such as age, sex, religion, class inadvertently may be glossed over unless proper precautions are taken to control for them throughout the process of investigating the impact of race.

This chapter reports findings in the area of black social groups, typically used by social scientists to distinguish behaviorial differences among all human beings. Initially, the researcher hypothesized that measures of trust, personal competence, and political efficacy would show some correllation to the dependent variables--a specific set of political attitudes and

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1. Lincoln, C. Eric, "Color and Group Identity in the United States," in Daedlus, Color and Race, Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Spring, 1967

a select pattern of behavior, protest activity. This hypothesis was disproved. No correlation was found between these three independent variables and the dependent variables. However, a number of correlations were established relating these three independent variables to social group memberships. The findings are reported in this chapter to demonstrate the rich variety to be found among black Americans. If the notion finally can be shattered that "all black people are alike," then these findings can add to the knowledge available to educators who wish to address individual needs of their students.

The chapter is separated into parts to discuss individually the measures of trust, personal competence, and political efficacy and their correlations to social characteristics. In addition, the three measures were found to relate to perceptions of race relations, and these findings are reported in the fourth section. The fifth section of this chapter summarizes the findings.

I Trust

Increasing concern is noted among political scientists with the components of system support. Alienation, political cynicism, and political trust are concepts receiving attention in the attempts to define, measure, and correlate these variables.[2] In discussing political trust, Aberbach and Walker note that sometimes it is related to social status or feelings of political efficacy and sometimes it is not. "In most instances it is strongly related to measures of trust in other people, but again, not always."[3] Further commentary relates trust or distrust to a political milieu, involving in some cases personality variables and in others community norms. It is suggested that bad decisions by a political system may move a distrustful person to "extreme, perhaps violent protest."[4]

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[2] Much of the recent work appears to rest on Kenniston, Kenneth, The Uncommitted: Alienated Youth in American Society, Dell Publishing Co., New York, 1965. Concepts have been refined and specified by Aberbach, Joel D., "Alienation and Political Behavior," American Political Science Review, March 1969; Aberbach, Joel D. and Walker, Jack L., "Political Trust and Racial Ideology," American Political Science Review, December 1970; Jackson, John S., "Alienation and Black Political Participation," paper delivered in the Midwest Political Science Association annual meeting, Chicago, 1971; Finifter, Ada, "Dimensions of Political Alienation," American Political Science Review, June 1970.

In the study at hand, the ISR Trust in People[5] measure, an adaptation of the Rosenberg Faith in People Scale, was selected as a measure of trust at the individual level. The distribution of trust responses of black students is shown in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1

DISTRUBUTION OF TRUST RESPONSES OF BLACK STUDENTS.

Trust			Percent	Number
Low	1		33.3%	48
	2		23.0	33
	3		23.6	34
High	4		20.1	29
		Total	100.0 %	144

Trust in people was run against social class, an enduring correlate of differences in political behavior. Indicators of social class typically

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3. Aberbach and Walker, op. cit. p. 1200

4. Ibid., p. 1202

5. Robinson and Shaver, Measures of Social Psychological Attitudes, Institute of Survey Research, Chap. 8, p. 532

used are education, occupation, and income. Each of these indicators in black society in the past have had arbitrary ceilings imposed on them, and therefore were viewed as likely to obscure differences, rather than identify social class. St. Clair Drake[6] approaches the problem of identifying the status hierarchy in black communities by distinctions in "life style." Drake extracts social class differences based on educational and occupational differences, and on basic values, but not on income differentials. Drake maintains that a job ceiling, which has existed because of discrimination in employment, imposes an income ceiling.

Income and job ceilings have undergone rapid change in the late sixties. Education level was not a useful indicator for a group uniformly college students, nor was it felt that parents' education would be particularly informative in this study for the students, black or white. In addition, since a focal point of inquiry in the research project was the student's perception of himself, the decision was to use the student's oral response to the question on social class. Wherever the student placed himself was the measure used, whether or not other indicators might persuade sociologists to place them elsewhere. Perception of social class was assumed to pick up differences in life style described by Drake for the black student, and would serve equally well as a uniform measure for the white student. About two-thirds of the black students called themselves working class. Less than one-third of the white students stated working class. None elected to call themselves upper class.

The relationship of trust to social class among the black students is shown in Table 4.2. In the area of low trust (1+2), 58.3% of the working class students score in this range, as compared to 52.2% of the middle class students. The middle class black student is therefore somewhat (but not much) more trusting of other people than the working class black student.[7]

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[6] Drake, St. Clair, "The Social and Economic Status of the Negro in the United States," reprinted in Black Conflict With White America, Van Der Slik, Jack R., ed., Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co., Columbus, Ohio, 1970, p. 12

Table 4.2

Trust		Black Social Class Working (N = 96)	Middle (N = 46)
Low	1	35.4%	28.3%
	2	22.9	23.9
	3	18.8	34.8
High	4	22.9	13.0

Experience of the black student with integration was hypothesized to be an important factor in determining black attitudes, and, indeed, Chapter 6 will discuss the impact of the integration experience at length. The measure of Trust in People was run against integration experience in high school, and frequency of interracial contact both on and off campus. Blacks coming from segregated high schools were found to be considerably more trusting than those from integrated high schools. Using (3 + 4) as a trusting score, 38.6% from integrated high schools (N = 83) were trusting, and 50.8% from segregated high schools (N = 59) were trusting.[8] The higher trust scores of students from segregated high schools suggests lack of challenges to existing values. Students in a homogenuous surrounding simply remain oblivious to societal changes, whereas those who are exposed to new experiences may become distrustful at least initially.

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[7] The white control group was far more trusting than its black counterpart. The working class white (N = 44) scored 31.9% low trust, and the middle class white (N = 104) scored 28.9% low trust.

[8] The same kind of relationship held for the white group. Coming from an integrated high school (N = 94), 64.9% scored in (3 + 4) range. Those from a segregated high school (N = 64), 81.2% scored in the (3 + 4) range.

Black students were asked questions regarding frequency of contact with people of a different race on campus. Of the least trusting blacks, 41.9% mix frequently, and of the most trusting blacks, 45.8% never mix. Off campus those of low trust mix more often than those of high trust. The off campus responses appeared to include on-the-job contact. On campus contact involves more choice. Lack of trust does not seem to deter a significant number from mixing and suggests that other variables possibly of a personality nature, probably determine whether or not a student mixes socially with white students.

Patterns of behavior related to religious preference have been observed by social scientists and often much group solidarity documented in areas of positive acts, such as voting, or in areas of opinion surveys. The lessening of religious ties among white youth is already the subject of much discussion. The religious background of the black American is of equal interest.

The institution of the church has been an important social and sometimes political center for the black American over time. E. Franklin Frazier notes that in the mass migration from the rural South to the Northern urban centers, blacks tended to continue their religious affiliation. He estimates some two-thirds are Baptists and close to one-third Methodist with a few Episcopal or Presbyterian.[9] The new middle class, which is stratified more on occupational lines, is less religious. Frazier notes that the search for status and prestige is not verified by white society, nor found

[9] Frazier, E. Franklin, The Negro Church in America, Schocken Books, New York, 3rd ed., 1969, p. 50-51

in the Negro church organization. "This probably accounts for the fact that the past two decades middle class Negroes have been joining the Catholic Church."[10] Lower class blacks are assumed to have been attracted as well by better educational opportunities and aid received during the depression.

The breakdown by religious preference in the survey somewhat follows Frazier's expectations. (See Table 4.3). The 53% Baptist is not unexpected. The higher than expected number of Catholics and presence of some Lutherans is no doubt related to the historical background of the city. The Catholic Church in St. Louis exercised leadership in opening its doors and its schools to black Americans before 1954. The heavily German background of St. Louis no doubt explains the presence of some Lutherans as well. Those answering "None" to the question on religious preference are of interest throughout the study. This group ranked 58.3% in the very low trust range (Score 1). Also ranking very low on trust (Score 1) were 36.0% of the Catholics, and 27.6% of the Baptists.

Table 4.3

Religious Preference		Number
Baptist		76
Catholic		25
None		12
Methodist		9
Lutheran		7
Other Protestant		6
Other non-Christian		9
	Total	144

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[10] Ibid., p. 80

Social disorganization accompanied mass migration to the cities. A new basis of organization was needed to fit city life. Frazier notes the church declined in influence as an "agency of social contro."[11] The Aberbach-Walker study of Detroit adds evidence to this theory. In investigating political trust, the researchers found individuals were more trustful who were born in the South, than in the North, "...and people who have active affiliations with churches (ie., are members of churches or church-related groups) are more trusting than those who are inactive."[12] They further state, "...individuals who have broken away from the traditional moorings of the church are also less likely to believe that government represents a benevolent authority."[13] The Detroit study was investigating political trust, or orientation to government. The present study inquired as to personal trust or trust in other people. We recall that the group answering "no religion" was much more distrustful of people than the other religious groups. This finding added to the Aberbach-Walker finding on distrust of government by non-religious people, together suggest that frequency of attendance at religious services should be checked against other variables. The "none" group is small in the present study, and therefore, how often respondents who answered with a religious preference, attend services is worthy of investigation.

The relationship of low trust to frequency of attendance at religious service is shown in Table 4.4. A curvilinear relationship emerges as shown. Those who never attend a religious service are the least trusting of other people. Those who attend services regularly rank 14 percentage points lower,

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11. Ibid., p. 72

12. Aberbach and Walker, op. cit. p. 1205

13. Ibid

but still demonstrate a significant majority as distrustful. Clustering in between, just below a majority are the groups who attend either occasionally or infrequently.

Table 4.4

Frequency of religious Attendance	Low Trust (1 + 2)	Number
Never	76.9%	13
Infrequently	46.6	30
Occasionally	46.1	39
Frequently	62.9	62

One explanation is that those who never attend services are the "none" group who already are established as distrustful. Those who attend services frequently may be dependent on religious solace, rather than having faith in other people. The in-between groups may be those who view both church attendance and other people in a more relaxed manner.

Table 4.4 also reveals an interesting comparison to the Detroit study by the numbers themselves in the distribution of religious attendance. Translated into percentages demonstrating religious ties, 43% attend services regularly and 27% occasionally for a total of 70% having fairly close ties to the church. Aberbach and Walker found in the Detroit study that 67% of respondents born in Michigan were not even members of the church.[14] In the present study 80.2% of respondents (black and white) grew up in the St. Louis area. Even though the samples are not strictly comparable, the differences between the two cities suggest that the urban milieu differs considerably. A comparative study with proper controls of religious ties in different urban settings may produce important variations.

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[14] Aberbach and Walker, "The Meanings of Black Power: A Comparison of White and Black Interpretations of a Political Slogan," American Political Science Review, June 1970, p. 376

Age differentiation demonstrates significant relationships with trust levels. Table 4.5 illustrates a very cynical group in the 16-20 age range, far exceeding normal adolescent disenchantment. The white control group showed a similar progression,[15] but nothing like the jump in distrust shown by the youngest black group.

Table 4.5

Age--black group	Low Trust (1 + 2)	Number
16-20	70.9%	62
21-25	47.5	40
26-30	45.9	24
31-35	46.2	13

Based on the white figures, one might argue that "trust increases with age." However, the extraordinary jump in distrust of the youngest black group looks like far more than youthful cyncism. The figures may indicate an extremely bitter group, such as was discussed in Chapter I in relation to the Newsweek survey of June 30, 1969.[16] That this group will become more trusting as its members grow older, is an assumption we cannot make or even hope for given inattention to their problems. The finding forewarns the researcher against any superficial glossing over of the data.

A social group of much interest and a subject of increasing attention

[15]

Age-white group	Trust (1 + 2)	Number
16-20	33.3%	81
21-25	29.4	51
26-30	18.2	11

[16] Newsweek, op. cit.

by the national media are the black veterans. There were 28 black vets in the study, 45% of the black male sample. Their distribution on trust scores was not too unlike the white veterans (N = 30), who were slightly more trusting than the black veterans. Table 4.6 shows a comparison among all black respondents. The black vets are clearly much more trusting of other people than the other black males. The black female falls in between the two groups.

Table 4.6

Trust Scores		Black Vets	Other Black males	Black Females
Low	1	21.4%	45.5%	32.5%
	2	21.4	27.3	21.7
	3	32.1	15.2	24.1
High	4	25.0	12.1	21.7
		(N = 28)	(N = 33)	(N = 83)

Aberbach and Walker in their research studied the appeal of the black power slogan. They do not interpret the slogan as a call for separatism, although they note such sentiment could grow. Rather they state, "Today, we find, instead a deep concern with the rights of and desires for respect within the American black community."[17] The desire for respect, which again must be verified by white people as well as black, moves us to try to approach the notion of self perception.

II Personal Competence

The concept of identity is crucial in numerous studies by social psychologists. And for understanding the black American, the notion forever is approached under a variety of rubrics. Erik H. Erikson criticizes researchers for molding the notion to fit their particular investigation. Social scientists "...try to treat these terms as matters of social roles, personal traits, or conscious self-images, shunning the less manageable and the less obscure (and often more sinister) implications of the concept."[18] Erikson further states that in spite of the misuse of the term, "...it does seem to speak to the condition of many serious observers at this juncture of history."[19]

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[17] Aberbach & Walker, American Political Science Review, June 1970, op. cit., p. 387

Despite the importance attributed by researchers in race relations to the notion of identity (self-esteem, self-concept, whatever), attempts to operationalize the concept have led nowhere. The ISR Measures of Social Psychological Attitudes reports some 200 scales developed "...most used only once."[20] Fearing to tread where psychologists and sociologists have no consensus, I selected a measure commonly used by political scientists, "...especially where there was an interest in links between political behavior and personality."[21] The Personal Competence Scale[22] has been used in ISR voting behavior studies in various forms since 1956. It has been shown to correlate with Trust in People and has shown consistency in replication in election studies. Nevertheless, no correlation with either political

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18. Erikson, Erik H., "The Concept of Identity in Race Relations: Notes and Queries," Daedlus, The Negro American--2, Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Winter, 1966, p. 146

19. Ibid.

20. Institute of Social Research, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, p. 45. (The Cantril Self Anchoring Scale was considered, but did not seem to get at what was wanted).

21. Ibid., p. 102

22. Ibid., p. 105

attitudes investigated or protest activities was found in the present study. The distribution of responses is shown in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7

DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONAL COMPETENCE RESPONSES OF BLACK STUDENTS

Personal Competence		Percent	Number
Low	1	.7	1
	2	1.4	2
	3	11.1	16
	4	16.7	24
	5	20.9	30
	6	22.9	33
	7	20.1	29
High	8	6.2	9
	Total	100.0	144

Personal competence did show some interesting relationships to other social characteristics. The scale has 7 questions of a forced-choice nature. A point was scored for each "competent" answer. Each average score was promoted one so that the scale runs from 1 to 8. Upper competence level is based on adding together those who scored 6, 7, or 8. Matching high competence to grade point average produced an expected correlation. Slightly more black B students (50.0%, N = 16) feel competent than black C students (46.5%, N = 43).

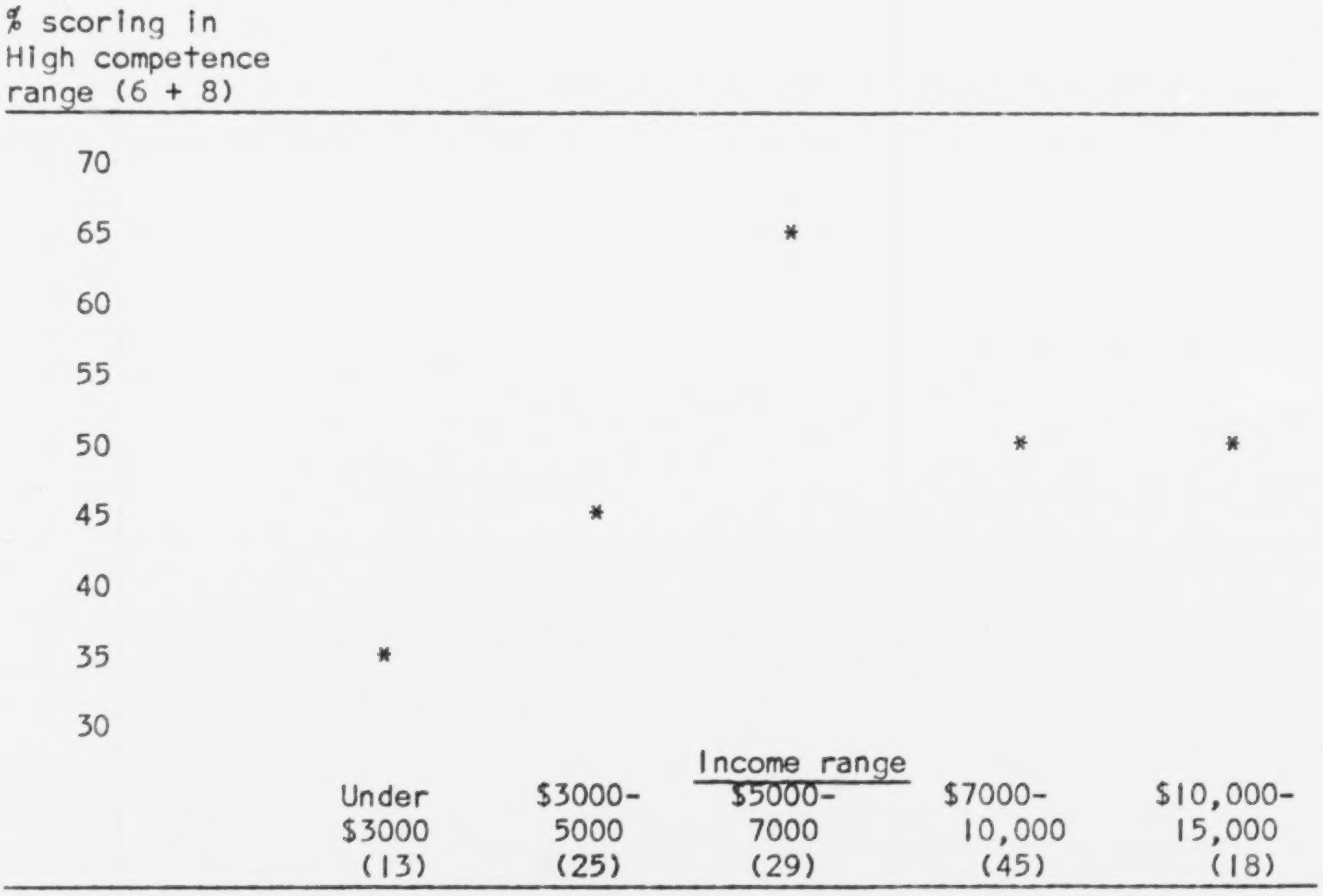
Social class was established in this study by respondent's statement of class. The expectation is that class would match competence, and it does. Again using those in the upper competence range (6 - 8), 47.0% of the working class students (N = 96), and 56.6% of the middle class students

(N = 46) score as highly competent.[23]

When competence is matched to family income range, often a social class indicator, the relationship does not progress systematically upward. Figure 4.1 illustrates a curvilinear relationship which peaks at the $5000-7000 range.[24] I know of no reason for competence to drop off after the $7000 income range, and I only can surmise that another variable intervenes.

By religion the Baptists respondents feel the most competent with 50% scoring in the 6 - 8 range. 44.4% of the Catholic group scored in the competent range. The group stating no religion was the least competent

Figure 4.1[a]



a. Exact figures were Under $3000--38.3%, $3000-5000--44.0%, $5000-7000--65.8%, $7000-10,000--53.6%, $10,000-15,000--50.0%. Only 5 respondents had an income over $15,000.

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[23] The white control group scored similarly at 41% working class, and 51% middle class. Blacks are ahead in competence in both instances.

[24] In the white group the percent feeling competent increased steadily upward with income.

group with only 33.3% scoring in the (6 - 8) range. Frequency of attendance was matched to competence, but no relationship emerged.

Personal competence apparently increases with age. See Table 4.8. The very young group, ages 16-20, who scored low in trust are also low in competence. Again a significant gap is noted between this group and all others. A high percent of the black veterans score high in competence with a significant drop off to the male non-veteran, and then the female. See Table 4.9.

Table 4.8

Age	High Competence (6 - 8)	Number
16-20	37.1%	62
21-25	52.5	40
25-30	54.1	24

Table 4.9

	High Competence (6 - 8)	Number
Black veterans	67.9%	28
Male non-vets	48.5%	33
Female non-vets	43.4%	83

The color-caste, status hierarchy among black Americans fascinates the researcher. Whether its existence continues in the face of the "black is beautiful" campaign, suggests itself as a proper inquiry to monitor change. Based on the mulatto offspring of white slave masters, who often then freed the child, a kind of snobbery by color gradations evolved which was reinforced by the existing admiration of what is "white." James Q. Wilson in his landmark study Negro Politics noted the impact of color on professional opportunities, marriage prospects, social life. In discussing Chicago black leaders, he stated, "Politicians and Baptist ministers tend to be darker in color than lawyers, doctors, and ministers from Congregational and other 'upper class' churches. More dark-skinned leaders are found in groups with a 'mass base' (labor unions, Baptist churches, politics) than in groups with a 'professional base'."[25]

At the personal level of treatment within the family, the problem is often compounded. Elliot Liebow points up the importance of skin color in family interpersonal relations with the lighter complexioned child often favored. Richard, who was one of the darker-skinned men in the study Tally's Corner, is quoted as saying, "All the time I was coming up, I kept hoping somebody would have a baby darker than me."[26] Malcolm X in his autobiography reveals he was his father's favorite because he was red-haired and the lightest. His mother, a proud West Indian, and ashamed of her white father, liked him the least.[27]

The dehabilitating effects of favoritism in families based on color gradations, and governance of subsequent opportunities in the outside world based on the same criterion, suggest a good many problems to be dealt with at a number of levels. Meanwhile, it is important to see whether this kind of sub-divison continues.

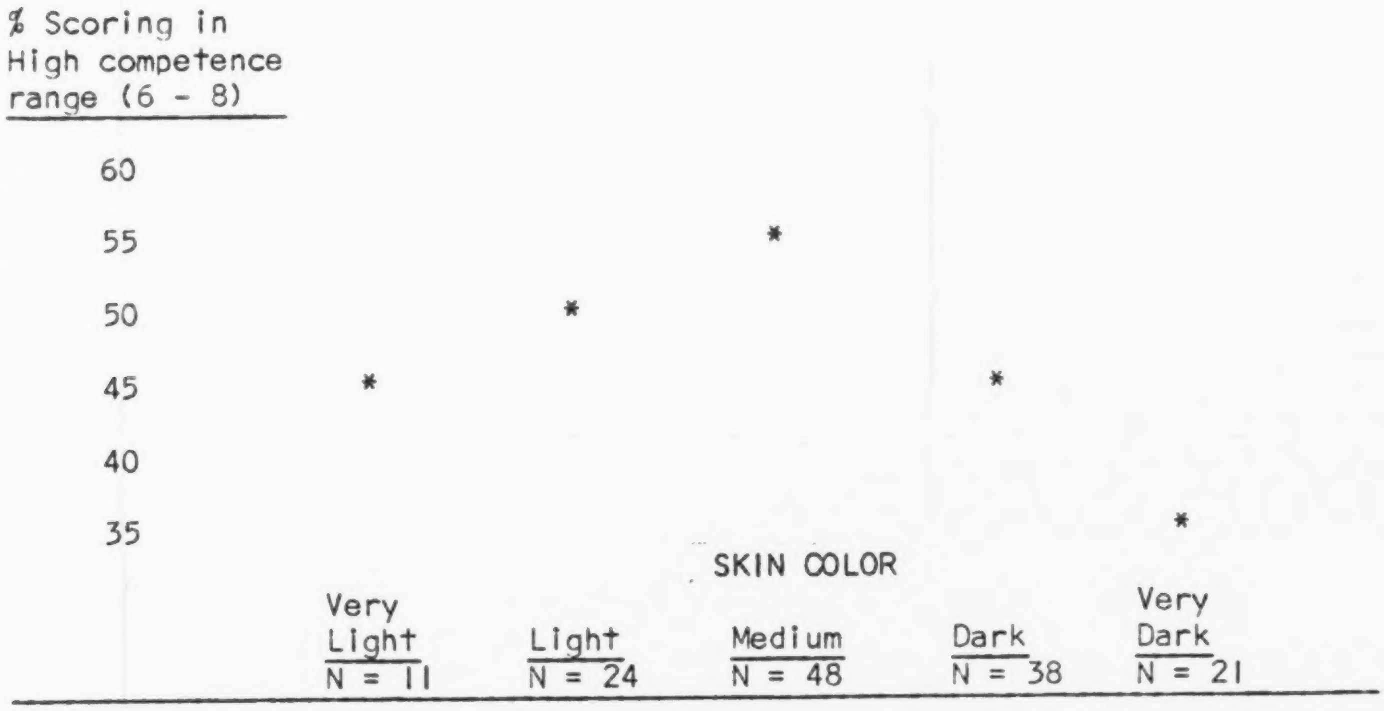
[25] Wilson, James Q., Negro Politics, The Search for Leadership, The Free Press, New York, 1960, p. 171. I observed the same phenomenon on doing research on my study "Negro Political Patterns in St. Louis." op. cit.

[26] Liebow, Elliot, Tally's Corner, Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1967, p. 251. Black students have verified this experience to me on a number of occasions.

[27] Little, Malcolm, The Autobiography of Malcolm X, with the assistance of Haley, Alex, Grove Press, New York, 1965, pp. 2-4,7

Interviewers[28] were asked to record color gradations on the instrument. Personal competence was matched to skin color with results recorded in Figure 4.2. Respondents having a medium skin color had the highest percent feeling competent. This result adds evidence to the Drake and Cayton[29] theory that skin color is lessening in importance--at least, in terms of psychological damage to the child. The very dark respondents had the lowest percent feeling competent, but the very light respondents were next. Admiration for lightness appears to be declining, although the very dark are still disadvantaged. Medium, light, and dark are all three coupled with higher competence. Pride in blackness seems to be working, and evidently must be relevant to American society before blackness is irrelevant.

Figure 4.2[a]



a. Exact figures were very light--45.5% high competence, light--50.0%, medium--56.2%, dark--47.4%, very dark--38.2%

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[28] Both project black interviewers ranked themselves as "light." One commented that it was now fashionable to put light babies in the sun for tan.

[29] Drake, St. Clair and Cayton, Horace R., Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City, Vol. II, Harper & Row, New York, 1962, pp. 495-506

III Political Efficacy

Measures of political efficacy, viewed as an attitude about oneself and one's effectiveness in the political process, are widely used in Political Science research. Interest in broadening participation in the political process is common, ranging from cross-national studies of developed or developing nations to the strictly American scene. The latter includes specifics on Washington, D. C., regional emphasis, or local community kinds of scales. The Political Efficacy Scale, developed by the ISR, measures "a person's subjective competence in politics", and demonstrates "high correlations with political participation questions and the act of voting itself."[30] The scale is constantly adapted to suit different research designs. For purposes of this study, similar adaptations took place, changing the focus to local government in one part of the instrument and to the college in the other instance. Effectiveness of students in college decision-making logically is of interest in this study.

Commentary of the ISR on the original scale runs, "The socio-economic status variables, income, occupation, and education, were highly positively related to the Efficacy Scale, with men scoring higher than women, Negroes scoring lower than white...." The relationship between political efficacy and political participation held even when controlled for eight demographic variables."[31] More recent studies break down political behavior into two broad categories of participation, traditional or conventional and protest or unconventional.[32] Conventional participation includes well-researched activities such as voting, contributing money, attending a meeting, "talking politics," etc. Protest activities include formerly unconventional behavior, such as sit-ins, rallies, boycotts, petitions, and activities generally protected by the First Amendment. Radical protest activities would include participation essentially anti-system and outside of the legal framework, such as arson, rioting, destruction of property.

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[30] Robinson, Rusk, and Head, op. cit., p. 443

[31] Ibid., p. 459

[32] Jackson, op. cit.

The Jackson comparative study of selected Southern college students demonstrates that when efficacy was tested separately for relationships to traditional participation and protest activities, the relationship did not hold for the latter. Professor Jackson states, "...efficacy is systematically related to traditional behavior but not to protest behavior..."[33] The Jackson study argues that "...participation in protest activities is a social and personal activity as well as a political phenomenon, and it is increasingly bound up in the self-concept of young blacks."[34] My data yielded similar results. Political efficacy at the local level and at the college level was not related to protest activities. In addition, these measures were not related to attitudes on separatism-integration or to New Left attitudes. Efficacy measures correlated to certain social characteristics, and some differences from ISR findings emerged.

The measures for efficacy for both local government and the college were scored similarly in a Likert like scale from 1 to 5. In the case of the college efficacy measure, no respondents scored 5, and the measure was collasped to a 1 to 4 scale for purposes of computation. Feelings of efficacy toward the two institutions varied when run against social characteristic as follows. The general breakdown in efficacy scores and the

33. Ibid., p. 29

34. Ibid., p. 25

breakdown by class are shown in Tables 4.10 and 4.11

Table 4.10

Efficacy (local)		Total Black Distribution (143)	Black Working Class (95)	Black Middle Class (46)
Low	1	21.7%	21.1%	23.9%
	2	33.6	30.5	39.1
	3	28.0	29.5	23.9
	4	11.9	13.7	8.7
High	5	4.9	5.3	4.3

Table 4.11

Efficacy (college)		Total Black Distribution (144)	Black Working Class (95)	Black Middle Class (46)
Low	1	15.3%	14.6%	17.4
	2	45.1	42.7	52.2
	3	33.3	35.4	28.3
High	4	6.3	7.3	2.2

The tables show that the working class black student feels slightly more effacious locally and at the college, than does the middle class student. Using (1 + 2) in each scale as a measure of low efficacy, 63.0% of the middle class score low on local efficacy and 69.6% score low on college efficacy. This contrasts with a low score of 51.6% of the working class in local efficacy and 57.3% in college efficacy.[35] The findings in relation to class run contrary to ISR data on feelings of efficacy toward the national government. Normally middle class people feel more efficacious toward government. With the increasing numbers of black mayors and representatives now in local office, it is conceivable a shift in attitude is occurring toward local government in major cities as the "turf" of the black working classes. Logically, this could include an urban public college within the confines of a major city.

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[35] The white working class also scored higher in college efficacy. The difference in local efficacy was negligible with a slight edge to the working class.

Black students coming from an integrated high school feel slightly more effacious locally. Scoring in the (4 + 5) range were 18.3% from an integrated setting, and 15.3% from a segregated setting. The relationship reverses for college efficacy where students from segregated high schools feel more effacious. In a (3 + 4) score range, 42.4% of the students from segregated high schools feel effacious as compared to 38.5% of those from integrated high schools.[36] The reversal may be related to the degree of concentration of blacks at the college where an ethnic stake is "felt" and pursued as such. Possibly, students from segregated high schools feel slightly more comfortable in pursuing "black interests."

This notion receives some credence by comparing frequency of on campus contact. Those who get together frequently or occasionally feel less effacious, than those who get together infrequently or never.[37] See Table 4.12. Blacks who avoid the whites definitely feel more effacious at college. This phenomenon may be separatist oriented.

Table 4.12

On campus contact	High efficacy (3 + 4)	Number
Never	43.9%	41
Infrequently	64.3	14
Occasionally	23.5	17
Frequently	30.6	36

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36. The White control group who were from integrated high schools, felt more effacious both locally and at college.

37. The relationship is opposite for the white group.

The breakdown of efficacy scores by religion show a reversal between groups on local and college efficacy. Those stating no religion feel most efficacious locally and least at the college. The Catholic group feel the least effaciously locally and the most at the college. The Baptists stay in the middle of each, but feel more efficacious locally than at the college. See Table 4.13. The white Catholic group also ranked high in efficacy at the college, 60.2% scoring in the (3 + 4) range (N = 83). As the total black and white, largest single religious group at the college (35.6%), feelings of efficacy no doubt are enhanced. A plausible theory which follows is that sense of political efficacy goes up in relation to concentration of a group.[38] By frequency of religious attendance, the "Never" and "Frequently" groups hover at the 50 percentile with the middle groups, "Infrequently" and "Occasionally", falling lower on local efficacy. The relationship reversed for college efficacy.

Table 4.13

Religion	High local efficacy (3 - 5)	High college efficacy (3 + 4)
None	63.7% (11)	33.3% (12)
Baptists	50.0% (76)	36.8 (76)
Catholics	28.0 (25)	40.0 (25)

Age differentiation produced no significant finding for college efficacy, but rather a clustering around the 40 percentile. When respondents are divided by age to check feelings of efficacy locally, a significant relationship is shown. The younger groups clearly feel more capable of effecting change locally. Once again the very young group (ages 16-20) demonstrates a significant jump from all other groups.[39] See Table 4.14.

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[38] Other research demonstrates that where an ethnic or racial group is concentrated in large numbers in a city, voting turnout goes up. See Banfield, Edward C., and Wilson, James Q., City Politics, Vintage, Random House, New York, 1963, pp. 230-31

Table 4.14

Age	High Local Efficacy (3 - 5)	Number
16-20	59.7%	62
21-25	40.0	40
26-30	30.3	23
31-35	30.8	13

The black veteran feels effacious at the college, but much less so at the local government level. The black female ranks first in efficacy locally. Extended discussion of the data by sex is reserved for later chapters. By race, it is briefly noted here that they are almost equal in local efficacy with whites having a slight edge. At the college, the blacks feel considerably more effacious than the whites. The interesting skin color correlation reappears for college efficacy (only). See Figure 4.3.

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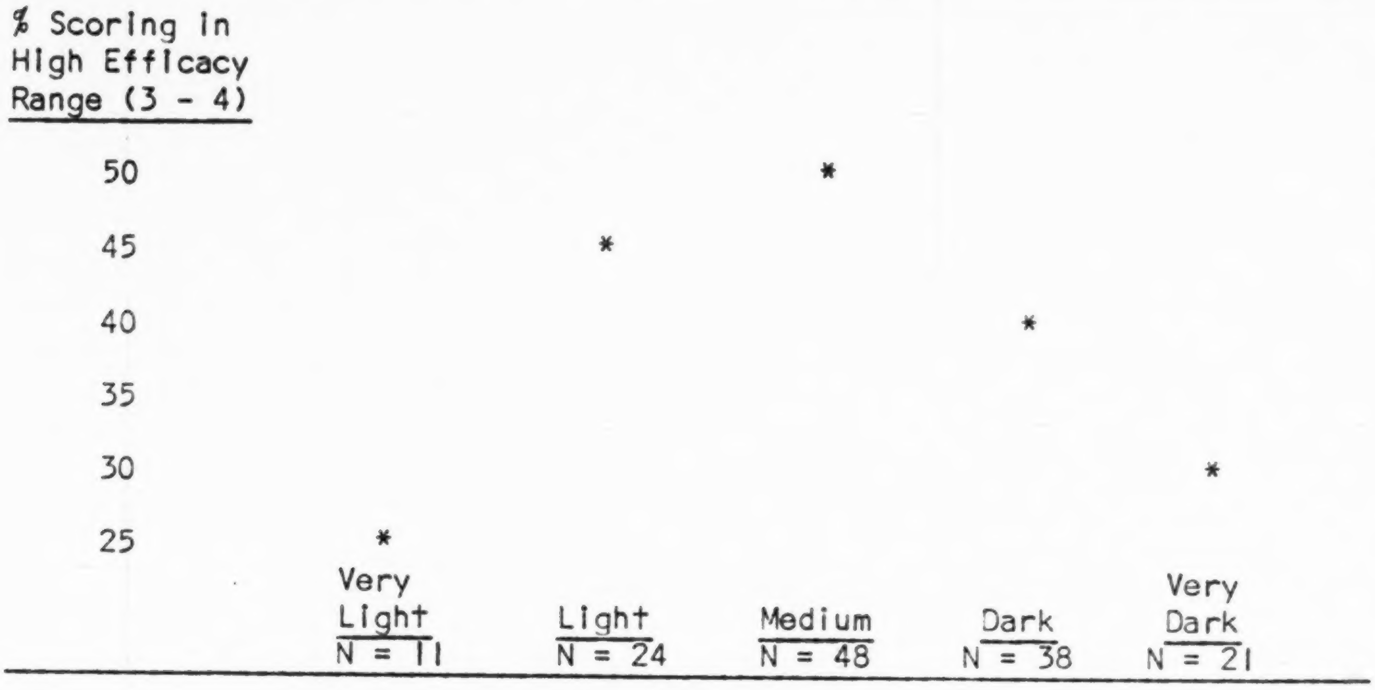
[39] The white control group was about the same in the 21-25 age group with 41.3% (N = 51) feeling effacious. Of the 16-20 age group, 51.1% (N = 80) feel effacious. Note that the jump is not nearly so large as in the black group.

Figure 4.3[a]



a. Exact figures were very light--27.3% high college efficacy, light--45.6%, medium, 48.0%, dark--41.6%, very dark--33.4%

IV Race Relations

In the routine running of the independent variables discussed so far, a relationship of each emerged to characterization of race relations by respondents. The question was stated simply, "How would you characterize race relations in the St. Louis area? Responses were classified into categories on a scale from "bad" to "good." Typical responses were as follows.

1. BAD (UNQUALIFIED)

Working class male--age 34--No religion--veteran--Racial tension is high here. All we need is some one to set it off.

Working class male--age 29--Baptist--veteran--They are all very poor. The K. K. K. still exist in South St. Louis. Black people who have achieved the income to live in these areas are afraid to live there. If the Ku Klux Klan doesn't get them, the police will.

Working class male--age 25--Baptist--veteran--Bad! There is a lot of prejudice among black and white people. There are a lot of places in St. Louis where if a black man went he would be looked at like he was crazy. I have seen quite a few fights between blacks and white over blacks trying to move into houses. It's always the white people who are against interracial marriages. They are the ones who throw the Molotov cocktails. It's like they are saying this white woman is too good for this black man.

2. POOR --(TENSE, DISTRUSTFUL, PREJUDICED, HYPOCRITICAL)

Working class male--age 21--Catholic--non-veteran--We have never had any riots, but on the other hand the sly prejudices would make [one]* think that it is a potential powder key for trouble.

Working class male--age 18--Baptist--non-veteran--These aren't too good. You can get on a bus and see little white people sticking their noses up under their hats. You can just about characterize most of the race relations as being phony. You could meet somebody you don't really know and just look down inside them and see all the prejudice inside them.

Middle class male--age 30--Lutheran--Veteran--Poor, just like any other city. Whites socialize at job levels, but the domestic environment is completely severanced.

Working class female--age 20--no religion--Very poor. No matter how old you are, you are still the little colored girl (work). I've seen people stopped for no reason. If a black becomes pregnant no matter who the guy

*editor insert

is--parents can accept. If a white becomes pregnant by a black* she is banished. Happened repeatedly in ....[suburban community]. Black men wearing naturals stopped on the street for no reason. Schools--if all black--administration thinks everything is fine. When integrated, administration updates everything, new books, better teachers, etc.

Working class male--age 30--Baptist--veteran--Hypocritical. The white man feels he can smile in your face and still stab you in the back at the same time. He hates to realize that the Negro can see this. He doesn't realize that he is dealing with a new Black man who has changed his philosophy from "if I live and nothing happens" to "if I live I'm going to make it happen."

Working class female--age 19--Baptist--We are no different from other cities except we don't let ourselves go and let the white people know how we really feel about them. We are afraid. The blacks in St. Louis really have too much to lose by confronting white people openly, because economically we might be a step ahead of blacks in other big cities.

3. MIXED--(SOME POSITIVE, SOME NEGATIVE CONNOTATIONS)

Working class male--age 20--Catholic--non-veteran--Everything is ok because nobody is really thinking about change. Most of the people are ignorant and not even thinking about change. Even me. I use to think of myself as conservative but I'm changing over a little bit.

Working class male--age 34--Catholic--Veteran--On the top it seems to be a smoothly working thing, but beneath it all there is still that friction and hatred that lurks in any other city.

Middle class female--age 17--Methodist--All right from what you hear, but deep-down it's tense. St. Louis is like sitting on a keg of dynamite waiting for the right thing to make it go off. Hidden feelings.

4. FAIR--(DESCRIPTION MOSTLY GOOD, BUT NEEDS IMPROVING)

Working class male--age 19--Catholic--non-veteran--Fair. A black might get along with a white because he (the black) has a little bit more than the white. Adam Clayton Powell is like a half-white politician. He puts up a front for everybody. He tries to act black in front of black people...and then goes back to his white people and takes on another role. That's about the way race relations are in St. Louis. Blacks now think they are equal to whites, but they are only fooling themselves, by trying to imitate and impersonate the white--that's not being equal.

Working class male--age 18--Baptist--non-veteran--Pretty good. The black people are demanding what they should have had long time ago. White people are accepting this in the city but in the country, it's another story. The whites had better accept this or they will have another Watts on their hand--it's slowly building up.

*editor deletion

5. GOOD

Working class male--age 18--Baptist--non-veteran--Good. It is not as bad as it use to be about 5 or 6 years ago, when you couldn't got out of your part of town. Like they said all niggers stay in your part of town and white folks in theirs.

Working class female--age 26--Holiness Church--Nice--people work, eat, go places together.

A number of responses did not fit these categories in that interviewers answered by comparing relations to other places. Two "worser" categories, (getting worse, and worse than other cities) were dropped for this chapter in that two few black respondents fell in these areas. Samples of the "better" categories are as follows.

6. GETTING BETTER, BETTER AMONG THE YOUNG

Working class female--age 33--Baptist--They are better. With integration of schools, children are thrown together more and parents are beginning to accept. No contact 10-15 years ago like there is now.

Working class female--age 18--Baptist--Seem to get along fair. The older generation are the big blockage. Younger people will mingle until an older person breaks in and tells kids others are not good enough for them. They get older and start to listen to older people. When they are little they play together and don't care till an older person breaks them up.

Middle class male--age 29--Baptist--non-veteran--Some of the disturbances people are causing. I don't think they really feel that way., i.e. (Percy Green). It's not as terrible as some cities, thanks to our Negro leaders. I think race relations here are pretty good. The young people are really setting the pace. People fear the unknown, but now that we are going to school together, we are finally learning that we are all human.

Middle class female--age 23--Lutheran--I think they have reversed. Whereas there was open prejudice from the white standpoint before, now there is open prejudice from the black standpoint. I feel that the whites are trying much harder, especially the youth. The whites are walking around expressing all this great love for niggers, with their "right on's" and stuff. I feel they are actually trying but who wants it.

7. BETTER THAN OTHER CITIES, RURAL AREAS

Middle class male--age 22--Baptist--veteran--Fair compared to most places. You don't have that much racial violence compared to a place like I just came from--New York, N. Y. Race relations here could be better, but there has to be more understanding between the races. I said it was fair because the city is nearly 50% black and in most cities that size, you have much more racial agitation.

Responses to the invitation to characterize race relations by the black students break down as shown in the column furtherest left of Table 4.15. The percentage of these students who rank high in trust, competence, and efficacy is shown for each response across the table. Generally, those students who see race relations in a negative way are low in trust and personal competence, but rank high in local and college efficacy. Conversely, those who perceive race relations as fair, good, improving tend to be higher in trust and competence, but lower in local and college efficacy.

A logical relationship exists in these findings. One might expect that those who are not trustful and not feeling competent would see race relations as poor, whereas those who are trusting and feeling competent would see race relations as good. Further, we would expect that those who feel capable of changing situations will view them as needing change, while those who do not feel capable of effecting change, will view them as acceptable.

Table 4.15

Characterized race relations as		High trust (3+4)	High competence (6-8)	High local efficacy (3-5)	High college efficacy (3+4)
Bad	(16)	25.0	27.5	46.6(15)	50.1
Poor	(38)	44.7	50.0	52.6	36.8
Mixed	(17)	47.0	52.9	52.9	58.9
Fair	(23)	56.5	52.2	21.7	30.4
Good	(10)	50.0	60.0	30.0	20.0
Getting better, better among the young	(16)	50.0	68.8	6.3	37.5
Better than other cities, rural areas	(12)	33.3	58.3	41.6	25.0
(total)	132				

V The Findings

A summary of the findings thus far on differences among black people appears useful at this point. The importance of social characteristics and their relationship to the independent variables in explaining significant social and political movements and the individuals caught up in them, cannot be underestimated.

The initial findings of the project demonstrate important attitudinal differences among black Americans in relation to a variety of social background factors. Whether or not an individual feels trusting, competent, or efficacious is in a sense an attitude about himself or herself and does tap certain aspects of self-concept that particularly interest the political scientist.

Trust in other people was found to be more a middle class phenonmenon rather than working class. Religious groupings showed the Baptists rather high on trust. The Catholic blacks also showed a significant majority trusting, but less so than the Baptist. The "no" religion group showed a majority distrustful. By frequency of attendance both the never and frequently respondents were distrustful, with those attending services occasionally or infrequently clustering in between. The under-20 age group was by far the most cynical. The black veteran was the most trusting.

Personal competence was found to correlate with social class, but not income. Rather a curvilinear relation emerged which peaked at the $7000-10,000 range. The religious groups broke down with the Baptists the most competent, the Catholics next, and the "none" group, the least. No relation was found to frequency of attendance. Competence appeared to increase with age, and the under-20 age group felt the least competent. The black veteran ranked the highest on personal competence.

Political efficacy at both the local and college level was highest among working class blacks. By religion, the Catholics felt the most effacious at the college, and the "none" group locally in the community. By frequency of religious attendance the Never and Frequently groups both felt more efficacious at the college. The under-20 age group felt highly efficacious locally. No correlation of age to college efficacy emerged. The black veteran felt efficacious at the college, but not at the local level.

Attitudes toward oneself were viewed initially as crucial to the study. The measures used to approach this elusive concept were found to be related to perception of race relations, also assumed to be a part of the attitudinal constellation. The more trusting and competent student tends to view race relations optimistically. Those who feel capable of effecting change see race relations negatively.

An interesting aspect of the survey was the documentation of change in color caste. Efforts of the young to eradicate color distinction or at least move away from admiring "lightness" appear to be successful. Those having a medium shade skin color ranked highest in both personal competence and in college efficacy.

The importance of the integration experience emerged early. A relationship was found to trust and efficacy, but not to competence. Those coming from segregated high schools were more trusting and felt more effacious at college, but less effacious locally. A good number of distrustful blacks mix regularly with white students on campus. Those who mix frequently or occasionally are low on sense of college efficacy.

None of the measures discussed so far showed any correlation to unconventional political behavior, ie. protest activities. Integration was found to relate to trust and efficacy, but not to competence. Those coming from segregated high schools were more trusting and felt more efficacious at college, but less effacious locally. A good number of distrustful blacks mix regularly with white students on campus. Those who mix frequently or occasionally are low on sense of college efficacy.

CHAPTER 5 -- ON BLACK POLITICAL DIFFERENCES

I Attitudes on Separatism-Integration

II New Left Attitudes

III Protest Activities

IV The Findings

Chapter 5

"I have a great deal of faith in my own ability to perform. And I also have a great deal of faith in our system to respond. The system can stand a great deal of improvement. But nobody has shown me a better one."[1]

The question raised regarding the direction of the black student movement is whether or not it is separatist in nature, and thereby moving away from integration as a goal in American society. A second area of interest is whether or not existing institutions are viewed as likely to and capable of responding to the needs of black Americans. These two sets of attitudes are the major attitudinal dependent variables of the study. Political attitudes, which are supportive or non-supportive of the existing socio-political order, are presumed to either constitute a ratification or rejection of decisions emanating from a political system. If the American political system is viewed as capable of responding to the needs of black Americans, we expect support for the system to remain constant. The converse is also true.

Section I of this chapter provides a full discussion of the background and results of the survey in regard to attitudes oriented to separatism and/or integration. Section II reports on New Left attitudes of black Americans, particularly in regard to approval or disapproval of various tactics to effect or prevent change. The relationship of each set of attitudes to social group membership is demonstrated.

The focus on political participation is limited in this study to protest activity. This mode of political action is defined as a tactic used by citizens openly to attack public policy decisions. Protest has become a familiar method of political action by college students, and for black students, a useful tactic on or off campus. Our interest is in the extent to which the tactic has been used in the past and is to be used in the future. Section III of this chapter discusses protest activity in relation to social characteristics of the survey respondents. Section IV summarizes the findings of Chapter 5.

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[1] Gibson, Kenneth Allen, Mayor of Newark, New Jersey, Quoted in Newsweek, August 3, 1970, p. 22

I Attitudes on Separatism-Integration

Attitudes on separatism-integration refer to race-related policy changes emanating from Presidential orders, Supreme Court decisions, and Congressional laws. Beginning in the 1940's with the first executive decree from Franklin D. Roosevelt on equal employment through increasingly strong policy pronouncements ending with the Fair Housing Law in 1968, the direction of public policy was to provide the legal framework for a racially integrated society. The question has been raised in social scientist literature and by popular journalists whether or not integration is still a goal among black Americans. More radical black organizations speak to the notion of separatism, and the appeal of a separatist society is attributed largely to the young.

The Aberbach-Walker study found evidence of a developing racial ideology which included a favorable interpretation of black power and a preference for militant leaders. Their findings correspond to the Tomlinson[2] study of Los Angeles. The Detroit study states, "This ideology is not a manifestation of growing sentiments for separation, but of a militantly expressed ideology of protest which demands quick and effective action to better conditions for

[2] Tomlinson, T. M., "The Development of a Riot Ideology Among Urban Negroes," American Behaviorial Scientist, 1968, pp. 27-31

all black people."[3] The researchers note that less than 2% of blacks endorsed the notion of separatism.

The present study approached the notion of separatism in a different and more detailed manner. Attitudinal statements were constructed in four crucial policy areas. Two statements were posed in each area which were assumed to measure both a separatist direction in one and an integrationist sentiment in the other. These were presented to the student in a mixed order as a handout in which respondents selected a number from 1 to 5, which best described his feelings.[4] Pro-separatist statements were scored the reverse of pro-integration statements so that in all cases the higher numbers represented opinions leaning to integration answers and lower number leaning to separation answers. The policy areas and attitudinal statements as follows.

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Neutral	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

Public Accommodations

1. a) People should go to restaurants, movies, and dances that cater to people of their own color. (Separatist)

   b) Where one goes for entertainment should be determined by one's interest, not his race. (Integrationist)

Housing

2. a) I think black and white people should live in their own neighborhoods and not try to mix. (Separatist)

   b) I think people in the United States would be better off if all neighborhoods were racially mixed. (Integrationist)

[3] Aberbach and Walker, APSR, Dec. 1970, op. cit., p. 1211

[4] See Chapter 2, for validation procedure and Appendix A, Handout D for order of presentation. Consistency of replies is sometimes less than statistically desirable. Ambivalence on the part of respondents appeared to play a role.

Political Representation

3. a) I like the idea of a separate black nation within the United States. (Separatist)

   b) Blacks should be fairly represented and should participate in all levels of government in the United States. (Integrationist)

Employment

4. a) Black people should work only in their own communities and stop working within the existing power structure. (Separatist)

   b) Black people should try to get jobs in all occupations in the U.S. (Integrationist)

The distribution of responses of the black student shows that all responses are highly skewed toward integration. In each distinct policy area, some differences are noted here and there. These will be discussed subsequently. The overall initial picture is that very large majorities in all areas prefer entertainment, housing, and jobs to be on an open basis, and do not favor the separatist option. Political representation (b) evokes highly integrationist answers, and only a small percent (8.4%) even like the idea of a separate black nation. See Table 5.1.

Table 5.1

Distribution of Black Responses in Four Public Policy Areas

		Separatist			Integrationist		
Question		1	2	3	4	5	Number
1) Public Accom.	a)	2.8%	8.4%	8.4%	21.7%	58.7%	(143)
	b)	4.2	1.4	.7	3.5	90.3	(144)
2) Housing	a)	2.8	2.1	8.4	14.7	72.0	(143)
	b)	4.9	14.0	15.4	24.5	41.2	(143)
3) Pol. Rep.	a)	4.9	3.5	11.2	11.2	69.2	(143)
	b)	0.0	1.4	3.5	6.9	88.2	(144)
4) Employ.	a)	2.1	4.2	5.6	15.4	72.7	(143)
	b)	.7	.7	1.4	8.3	88.9	(144)

In breaking down the data by class, Table 2 demonstrates that the working class scores somewhat higher on integrative responses on Public Accommodations than do the middle class. On the Housing (b) statement, the middle class black also drops down 10 percentage points below the working class. The working class was more insistent on proper political representation, (3b) but also preferred the notion of a separate black nation (3a) more than the middle class. The two groups are close to equal on employment responses. See Table 5.2.

Table 5.2

Question		Percent Answering Pro-Integ. (4 + 5) by Class	
		Working Class	Middle Class
1) Public Acco.	a)	82.2%	76.1%
	b)	95.8	89.1
2) Housing	a)	86.3	86.9
	b)	68.4	58.7
3) Pol. Rep.	a)	77.9	84.8
	b)	96.9	91.3
4) Employ.	a)	88.4	86.9
	b)	96.9	97.8

Clearly equal opportunities to make a living are of high priority with both social classes. Given this, the data suggest the middle class black may be slightly more in favor of choosing home and recreation within an ethnic confine. This adds evidence to the Aberbach-Walker conclusion that the "black bourgeosie" is *passe*.[5] Cultural isolation from other blacks no longer is attractive as a goal. On the other hand, to be politically distinct has less appeal to the middle class black. This finding lends some substance to Thomas Pettigrew's theory that integration as a goal priority has undergone some change--at least in terms of the middle class black. Pettigrew states, "Influential black opinion turned in the late 1960s from integration as the primary goal to other goals--group power, culture, identity, integrity, and pride."[6] Pettigrew feels that most blacks do not see these goals as conflicting with integration, and the data from the present study bear this out.

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[5] Aberbach and Walker, *APSR*, Dec. 1970, op. cit., pp. 1214-15. The reference is to the political and social elite group described by Frazier, E. Franklin, *Black Bourgeosie*, The Free Press, Glencoe, 1957.

The data on the four public policy areas were separated by sex to investigate differences of opinion. See Table 5.3. Once again, as by class a very high rate of agreement is shown on employment responses. The black male is more insistent than the female on full political representation, but the male drops down significantly in percent giving an integration response on the appeal of a separate black nation. The black female finds this notion less attractive than the male. Politics in the United States heretofore has been largely a male prerogative, and I would assume this explains the difference in answers by sex. The black female might see little

Table 5.3

Question		Percent Answering Pro-Integ. (4 + 5) by Sex Male	Female
1) Public Accom.	a)	76.2%	83.3%
	b)	90.0	96.4
2) Housing	a)	83.0	89.3
	b)	66.1	65.6
3) Pol Rep.	a)	71.2	86.9
	b)	98.4	92.8
4) Employ.	a)	88.4	89.3
	b)	98.3	96.4

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6. Pettigrew, Thomas F., Racially Separate or Together?, McGraw-Hill, Inc., New York, 1971, p. 297

stake personally in regard to who controls the decision-making institutions.[7]

In the areas of both housing and public accommodations, the black male is less pro-integration in outlook than is the female. I would assume that the thrust for black dignity would be of more psychological value to the male than the female. The institution of slavery did not recognize marriages among black people and buying and selling of slaves occurred without regard to family attachments. Young children, however, were usually left with the mother, until the child was of "marketable" age. The matriarchial society was reinforced after slavery ended officially by several factors. The female tended to have access to more education and to perform better in the educational setting.[8] The female was not viewed as an economic threat.

In the period of the mass migration in the 20th century, still underway, the female in the urban setting once again was usually better able to find and keep a job, no matter how menial. Many black males were unable to obtain regular and promising employment. In addition, the initial Aid to Dependent Children legislation, required absence of the male from the home. In the midst of a male dominant culture, what occurred was a specific group of males, in this case black, were stripped of all opportunities to live up to the ethos of the culture. A wealth of literature deals with the attendant psychological effects[9] on the group who has had the least

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7. This theory is buffered by adding the white male response to the question on Political Representation (b). Only 82.1% scored pro-integration on this as compared to 98.4% of the black males. I think we tapped the nitty gritty of "power" here, not prejudice.

8. Poussaint, op. cit., p. 31

9. See, for example, Liebow, Tally's Corner, op. cit. for a rationalization procedure, or Poussaint, op. cit., for varied personality adjustments to this phenomenon.

opportunity to build its ego. The greater appeal, therefore, of black solidarity by exclusiveness in housing and choice of recreation to the male is not a surprising result.

In separating the data by religious preference, it quicky becomes evident that the group stating "None" is considerably more separatist in orientation than the Catholics and Baptists. See Table 5.4. In the housing policy area, for the first time a black social group drops below a majority giving a pro-integration answer on one of the questions. The "None" group clearly insists on full political representation and the right to go anywhere for recreation, while, at the same time, a number prefer to live and seek entertainment separately. They also enjoy the notion of a separate black nation and are the least supportive of integrated employment. The Catholics and the Baptists are close in a number of areas with the Catholics less enthusiastic about public accommodations, and the Baptists about housing.

Table 5.4

Question		Percent Answering Pro-Integ. (4 + 5) by Religion			
		None (12)		Catholic (25)	Baptists (76)
1) Public Accom.	a)	63.7%	(11)	76.0%	82.9%
	b)	100.0	(12)	80.0	96.0
2) Housing	a)	63.7	(11)	92.0	89.5
	b)	45.5	(12)	80.0	68.4
3) Pol. Rep.	a)	63.7	(11)	80.0	78.9
	b)	100.0	(12)	92.0	96.1
3) Employ.	a)	81.9	(11)	92.0	88.2
	b)	83.3	(12)	100.0	100.0

Moving the discussion of attitudes on policy decisions to education, two sets of statements were constructed in the area of policy controlled by college administrators. As shown below these relate to the race of the instructor (1) and the method of presentation (4). Both (1) and (4) reflect typical demands of college activists for black studies. Statements in (2) represent the student's choice of a major, and statements in (3) inquire as to the student preference in classmates. The latter has been, of course, a matter of great concern in implementing public policy decisions nationally. Locally, college policy has been a matter of free choice.

The format of the statements is the same as the other policy areas with the reverse scoring for those pro-separatist preferences.[10] Statements for this section follow.

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Neutral	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

Instructor

1. a) Black instructors are the only people qualified to teach black Americans their history and culture. (Separatist)

   b) A fair presentation of the heritage of black Americans can be taught by any qualified black or white teacher. (Integrationist)

Curricula

2. a) The way things are going in America, black students would be better off to major in Black Studies and plan to work with just their own people. (Separatist)

   b) Black students ought to study what white students are learning in order to compete in American society. (Integrationist)

Classmates

3. a) I would prefer to go to college just with people of my own color. (Separatist)

   b) I think a racially mixed college offers the most desirable education. (Integrationist)

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[10] See Appendix A, Handout B for mixed order of presentation.

Method of Presentation

4. a) The best way to teach black heritage is in separate courses focusing totally on the black American. (Separatist)

   b) The best way to learn the contributions of blacks to American civilization is to routinely include that information in any and all courses where relevant. (Integrationist)

The overall distribution of responses show a sizeable majority prefer integration (4 + 5) in terms of classmates. See Table 5.5. Almost as high a percentage do not wish to limit their curricula to Black Studies. Nevertheless, 49% (1 + 2) want the courses to be available separately, even though 66% (4 + 5) choose the integration answer on the companion statement on method of presentation. (4b)

The same ambivalence is evident on the set of statements regarding the instructor in that a majority (1 + 2) feel only blacks can teach black Americans their history, but also agree (4 + 5) that a fair presentation can come from any qualified instructor.

Table 5.5

Distribution of Black Responses in Four Areas of Education

		Separatist			Integrationist		
Question		1	2	3	4	5	Num.
1) Instructor	a)	28.5%	22.2%	6.9%	17.4%	25.0%	(144)
	b)	11.8	15.3	9.7	29.9	33.3	(144)
2) Curricula	a)	5.6	6.3	8.4	21.0	58.7	(143)
	b)	11.2	13.3	14.7	23.0	37.8	(143)
3) Classmates	a)	1.9	4.7	18.0	21.5	54.2	(144)
	b)	4.2	4.9	10.5	30.8	49.6	(143)
4) Method	a)	23.8	25.2	16.8	16.1	18.2	(143)
	b)	4.2	10.4	19.4	22.9	43.1	(144)

The data were separated by social class, but differences by class were negligible for all statements except (1b) and (4b). A fair presentation by any instructor was expected by 67.8% (N=96) of the working class blacks, but only 54.4% (N=46) of the middle class blacks. The statement on the best way to learn black contributions is to include it in any course where relevant, also showed a class difference. Of the working class black, 71.9% (N=96) gave a pro-integration response, but only 54.3% (N=46) of the middle class gave an integration response. Insistence of separate black studies with black instructors, appears to be more a middle class demand than working class. This finding appears to fit the earlier finding on class reflecting a shift in goal priority among middle class blacks, and more concern with black culture.

A few differences appeared in the data when responses were separated by sex. Scoring was shifted in this instance to a separatist total by adding (1 + 2) on the 5-dimension scale. The black male scored more separatist than the female on both presenting Black Studies separately (4a), and in majoring in black studies in order to work with black people (2a). The black female on the other hand is more separatist regarding the value of a racially mixed college (3b). See Table 5.6.

Table 5.6

Question		Percent Answering Pro-Sep. (1 + 2) by Sex Male	Female
4) Method	a)	59.3%	41.6%
2) Curricula	a)	15.3	9.5
3) Classmates	b)	1.7	14.3

A few interesting patterns emerged when the data were divided by religion. The "None" group was the least enthusiastic about a racially integrated college with 72.8% (N = 11) scoring pro-integration, as compared to 96.0% of the Catholic (N = 25) and 82.9% of the Baptists (N = 76). The ambivalence on method of presentation noted in the general distribution breaks down by religion as shown in Table 5.7. The gap is widest for the "None" group.

Table 5.7

Question		Percent Answering Pro-Integ. (4 + 5) by Religion None	Catholic (25)	Baptist (76)
4) Method	a)	9.1% (11)	44.0%	31.6%
	b)	75.0 (12)	64.0	57.9

A general commentary is pertinent on all of the attitudes investigated so far. In almost all racial policy areas, big majorities are oriented to integration. The exception is the demand for black studies taught by black instructors, *but it stops there*. Pettigrew refers to "selective separatism" among young ideological blacks. "They often call for *selective* separatism of one of more aspects of their lives while also demanding their rights of entry into the society's principal institutions. It is no accident that the most outspoken members of this faction are college students in prestigious and predominantly white universities."[11] The desire to have black studies and black instructors appears to be a manifestation of selective separatism, serving as psychological reinforcement, but not functioning as a political movement in itself.

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[11] Pettigrew, op. cit., p. 298

II New Left Attitudes

Much of the literature describing the thinking of the New Left, whether by its advocates or analysts, spells out what New Leftists are against. Objections to militarism, racism, materialism, are common. Further criticisms are bureaucratic manipulation of people's lives, (middle class as well as working class), poverty emanating from unequal distribution of the wealth, and each of these resting on unequal distribution of decision-making. These issues in broad summary are the most widely discussed among the New Left.

Gary R. Weaver[12] describes the student movement in general as broadly humanitarian in a way resembling the Romantic movement in Europe. The students are further concerned with maintaining their individual identity in the midst of the technological state. Last, they are insisting on the implementation of the democratic ideals. The student "left", composed mainly of people under 30 who identity with the movement or the college community, is viewed as the vanguard of the movement. Weaver states, "The entire movement, however, including its vanguard, is intelligible only as an amalgamation of individuals who share a mood, a cultural revision without the structure and linear direction of a political ideology. One may discern Marxists, Neo-Trotskyites, pacifists, Democratic Socialists, Yippie 'politicians of joy,' Americans for Democratic Action, and a host of other traditional ideologues, but when one looks for a common political denominator it is nowhere to be found. The answer lies in the ambience of a generation born after the failure and death of ideology."[13]

[12] Weaver, Gary R., "Introduction", in Weaver & Weaver, eds., The University and Revolution, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1969, pp. 1-4

[13] Ibid., pp. 1-2, footnote 1

The shared mood that Weaver refers to, does not offer a positive program for an alternative society and as such would not be viewed as a political ideology by some analysts. Others, such as Dolbeare and Dolbeare,[14] include a discussion of the New Left in their volume on American ideologies. The ideological base is the New Left call for significant restructuring of society and its institutions. How much the mood is shared by black radicals is an open question in that they tend to remain distinct at meetings of Left Radicals. Where a semblance of uniformity may be found is in tactics.

In discussing tactics of the New Left, Dolbeare and Dolbeare state, "Nor do they consider it necessary, desirable, or profitable to work for change within the existing framework; they endorse and promote extralegal and sometimes violent alternatives as the only means with a real chance of success under the circumstances."[15] Approval or disapproval of these kinds of tactics, working outside of existing societal or political institutions, is the set of attitudes of interest to the present study.

A 62-item New Left Scale[16] was designed at Columbia University, New York City, following the disruptions of spring 1968. The ISR recommends that the first ten or twenty items on the scale may be sufficient for research purposes.[17] The items selected as shown below were chosen from the total sample in order to select attitudinal statements of most relevance to the present study. Most of the items refer to tactical options to pursuing political goals. A few (No.'s 8, 10, and 13) refer to philosophic positions, and No. 11 inquires as to the proper role of educational institutions.

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[14] Dolbeare and Dolbeare, American Ideologies, Markham Publishing Co., Chicago, 1971, pp. 145-184

[15] Ibid., p. 146

[16] See Chap. 3, Page 5 for validation.

[17] Robinson and Shaver, op. cit. p. 386

New Left Scale Items

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Neutral	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

1. Authorities must be put in an intolerable position so they will be forced to respond with repression and thus show their illegitimacy.

2. Disruption is preferable to discussion for changing our society.

*3. Radicals of the left are as much a threat to the rights of individuals as are the radicals of the right.

4. The streets are a more appropriate medium for change in our society than printing presses.

*5. The courts are a useful method for changing policy.

*6. There are legitimate channels for reform which must be exhausted before attempting disruption.

7. Extensive reform in society only serves to perpetuate the evils; it will never solve the problems.

*8. Anyone who violates the law for reasons of conscience should be willing to accept the legal consequences.

*9. It is possible to modify our institutions so that the blacks can be incorporated on an equal basis into our contemporary society.

10. Although men are basically good, they have developed institutions which force them to act in opposition to their basic nature.

11. Educational institutions should adopt and promote political doctrines.

12. Political groups cannot cooperate with each other without sacrificing their integrity.

13. A commitment to action is more socially relevant than a commitment to any specific philosophy.

*14. Provocation of the police should only be a by-product, not a goal, of mass action.

15. The only way to combat violence is to use violent means.

* REVERSE SCORING

Anti-New Left statements were scored the reserve of pro-New Left statements. Higher numbers represent pro-New Left Choices. In overall averages of the 15 items, all pro-New Left items washed out. Anti-New Left based on scoring (1 + 2) equalled 77.6% with the remainder scoring 3, and none scoring 4 or 5.[18] Meaning can be extracted from the Scale by looking at the distribution of individual items in Table 5.8.

Table 5.8

Distribution of Black Responses on New Left Scale Items

	Anti-New Left			Pro-New Left		
Question	1	2	3	4	5	Num.
1. Force	14.8	19.7	30.3	26.0	9.2	(142)
2. Disruption	23.2	24.6	18.3	26.1	7.7	(142)
3. Left radicals	25.4	31.0	27.5	10.6	5.6	(142)
4. Streets	17.5	27.3	17.5	25.2	12.6	(143)
5. Courts	21.0	35.0	14.7	18.9	10.5	(143)
6. Exhaust	28.7	40.5	19.6	7.0	4.2	(143)
7. Reform	20.3	29.4	18.9	21.7	9.8	(143)
8. Violates	44.4	31.0	9.1	12.0	3.5	(142)
9. Modify	49.0	32.2	8.4	5.6	4.9	(143)
10. Men	5.6	9.9	9.9	40.8	33.8	(142)
11. Educ.	19.6	11.2	25.9	28.0	15.4	(143)
12. Groups	20.4	23.9	23.9	22.5	9.2	(142)
13. Action	8.4	21.0	28.0	25.2	17.5	(143)
14. Provo.	27.5	33.1	20.4	10.6	8.4	(142)
15. Violence	47.5	24.1	8.5	10.6	9.2	(141)
Score	9.1	68.5	22.4	0.0	0.0	

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[18] In the white control group, score 4 and 5 also wash out. However, the white group is more anti-New Left with 88.7% scoring (1 + 2).

Item 10, a Marcusean proposition, receives a resounding pro-New Left majority with 74.6% scoring (4 + 5). Ranking second highest, although considerably lower, with the black students is Item 11, which refers to the proper role of educational institutions. A significant minority of 43.4% do not see learning institutions as neutral places, but rather prefer them to advocate a particular point of view. It is noted in passing that only 19.0% (Item 14) agree that police should be provoked as a goal, and only 19.8% (Item 15) agree that only violence combats violence. Item 9 demonstrates that a very big majority of black students feel American institutions can be modified to provide equality for blacks. Almost as high a majority feel that law violators for reasons of conscience, must accept the consequences. (Item 8).

Seven items from the New Left Scale were selected to break down further by social groups for comparative purposes. Items 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6 appeared to best approach the notion of attitudes toward proper tactics to pursue political goals. Items 7 and 13 reflect a philosophic stance and help pick up those committed to action. These will be referred to subsequently in the study as the key New Left items. Several have a wide distribution, others are interestingly uniform.[19] Some of the items evoke a relatively high pro-New Left response; others, a relatively low response.

A breakdown of responses by class and sex is shown in Table 5.9. Attitudes toward tactics (the first five items) outside of the legal framework, in general receive more approval from the middle class black. The working class is more action-minded and more likely to reject reforms as shown in the last 2 items. By sex, the black male opts more for disruptive tactics than the female and is more action-minded. The black female has less faith in reform. It would appear at this point that disruptive tactics appeal somewhat less to the female, which in turn may be related to fear of violence.[20] The middle class preference for disruptive tactics may be related to more contact with institutions which appear unresponsive to their grievances. No meaningful patterns among blacks emerged by either religion or frequency of church attendance.

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[19] Time constraints of this particular research project prevented Guttman scaling or other correlations of these particular items. They are presented here in this form as useful items in terms of present interest and future development.

Table 5.9

Question	Percent Answering Pro-New Left (4 + 5) by Class		Sex	
	Working (N=95)	Middle (N=46)	Male (N=59)	Female (N=84)
Force	34.0%	37.0%	44.1%	28.9%
Disruption	31.6	39.2	45.8	25.3
Streets	33.7	45.6	37.2	38.1
Courts	29.4	28.3	32.2	27.4
Exhaust	9.5	15.2	11.9	10.7
Reform	33.7	28.3	25.4	35.7
Action	45.2	39.1	47.4	39.3

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[20] Scoring of the white control group by sex does not follow the same pattern, so the supposition must be qualified by race. See Chapter 7 for a discussion of the white female.

III Protest Activities

Theoretical literature on protest is rather sparse. The increased use of protest by varied groups as a method of political participation, has contributed to attempts to conceptualize protest activity. An early effort to place protest activity in a framework comes from James Q. Wilson[21] and related specifically to use of protest by black Americans. Wilson characterizes protest as the only tool available to the powerless. In essence the implication is that groups who have no resources with which to bargain in the political arenas, create a resource by attracting attention to their grievances, or later, of course, by actually stopping the function of a particular institution by the use of protest activities.

Protest activities of the sixties were used with success to dramatize lack of compliance with the law. Marches, sit-ins, parades--in the South, were all upheld by the Supreme Court as protected by the First Amendment. These kinds of protest activities were frequently an adjunct to decisions of the courts or to legislation already passed. They were an option exercized in lieu of further court actions, which were characterized as slow, expensive, and one-by-one. Protest activities among students have undergone some changes as to the specific style of the protest and as to the target of the protest. In the late sixties and into the 1970s the focus is frequently directed at changes in existing policy, rather than dramatizing lack of compliance with policy pronouncements. Educational institutions themselves are often a specific target receiving demands for internal reform, as well as serving as a convenient staging area to dramatize objections to national policy decisions, such as the war in Vietnam.

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[21] Wilson, James Q., "The Strategy of Protest: Problems of Negro Civic Action," Journal of Conflict Resolution, 3, Sept. 1961, pp. 291-303

The newer form of political participation, ie. protest, has led to more sophisticated attempts to conceptualize the whole notion of protest. Michael Lipsky defines protest, "...as a mode of political action oriented toward objection to one or more policies or conditions, characterized by showmanship or display of an unconventional nature, and undertaken to obtain rewards from political or economic systems while working within the systems."[22] Lipsky's framework of interpretation views protest strictly as a strategy and spells out a formula for attracting publicity in order to mobilize third parties to whom the system is more likely to respond. Again protest is viewed as a resource of the powerless, not necessarily black people, however, and not to the exclusion of groups holding other resources. The nature of student protest presently is not necessarily within the system.

Another dimension is added to protest theory by Kenneth E. Boulding,[23] who views it within the context and culture of the whole society. Boulding argues, "Protest arises when there is strongly felt dissatisfaction with existing programs and policies of government or other organizations, on the part of those who feel themselves affected by these policies but who are unable to express their discontent through regular and legitimate channels....:[24] Success, Boulding argues, rests on how widespread is the belief on which the protest rests. Or if a protest movement is trying to move a society in a particular way, then "...the techniques for creating the preconditions for change may be very different from the techniques required for crystallizing it."[25] If a society is divided, counter protest may be triggered. Boulding thinks protest is not likely to push a social system in a direction that it has not been heading anyway. He argues that the dynamics of social systems are not entirely random, and that systems move however painfully slow toward "payoffs."

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[22] Lipsky, Michael, "Protest As a Political Resource," American Political Science Review, 62, Dec. 1968, p. 1145

[23] Boulding, Kenneth E., "Towards a Theory of Protest," from Anderson, Walt, ed., The Age of Protest, Goodyear Publishing Co., Inc., Pacific Palisades, Calif., 1969. This article is a reprint from Bulletin of The Atomic Scientist, Oct. 1965

[24] Ibid., p. vi

Here a distinction is made between educational movements which prepare a society for change, and protest movements which crystallize the change for which the society has been prepared. And even then these protests can fail if the nature of the protest is such that animosity is raised over the form, rather than the substance of the protest. It is the dimensions discussed by Boulding that this study attempts to monitor.

The style of national college protest in the late sixties governed the format of the protest questionnaire. Questions were designed to inquire about both protest and counter-protest activities performed. Included also were questions on escalating degrees of activity from those within the system, (sign a petition, attend a rally), to those clearly a felony (destruction of private or public property). Other questions in between were asked as to whether a student would stay home, observe the picket line, persuade others, walk or cross a picket line. See Table 5.10 for distribution of responses.

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[25] Ibid., p. vii

Table 5.10[a]

Distribution of Black Responses on Protest Activities Performed[b]

Question		Percent Ans. Yes	Num.
1a.	Have you signed a petition to object to a policy you thought was unfair?	60.3%	(141)
* b.	Have you signed a petition upholding a policy decision you thought was right?	32.6%	(141)
2a.	Have you ever attended a rally to protest a school decision?	28.2%	(142)
* b.	Have you ever attended a rally to uphold a school decision?	12.7%	(142)
3.	Have you participated, in a way, by just staying home when a strike was in progress?	33.1	(142)
4.	Have you participated in a student strike by observing the picket line?	26.8	(142)
5a.	Have you talked to others to try to persuade them to go along with a student protest activity?	19.1	(141)
* b.	Have you talked to others to try to persuade them not to go along with a student protest activity?	15.6	(141)
6a.	Have you walked a picket line in conjunction with a student strike?	3.5	(141)
* b.	Have you crossed a picket line when a student strike was in progress?	5.7	(141)
7a.	Have you destroyed any private or public property as a means of student protest activity?	2.8	(141)
* b.	Have you protected private or public property when other students wanted to destroy it as a means of protest?	10.6	(141)

a. Order of questions has been changed in this table to illustrate breakdown of responses. See Instrument, Appendix A, Sec. 5 for developmental sequence of questions.

b. Despite repetition of student protest at college, respondents discussed any kind of protest in which they were involved.

* Responses in the b category are assumed to be of a counter protest nature, objecting either to the policy or the method of protest or both.

A high percent (60.3) have signed petitions objecting to a policy and half again as many have signed a petition of a counter protest nature. Over one-fourth (28.2%) of the students have attended a rally to protest a decision, and not quite half as many have attended a rally of counter-protest.[26] About one-third of the students stayed home when issues erupted; over one-fourth observed the picket line. Under one-fifth try to persuade others to go along, and even less (15.6%) try to persuade others not to go along.[27] A small percent either walked a picket line or crossed it, or destroyed property. A larger (10.6%) group have protected property.[28]

A second set of similar questions was posed for the future prefaced by the remark, "Now suppose while you were at college, something came up in the future that you felt pretty strongly about one way or the other..." The distribution of responses is shown in Table 5.11. A very high majority say they would attend a rally, sign a petition, strike, picket, and persuade others. Less than a third say they would stay home, and about a fourth would cross the picket line. A very small percent would destroy property, and a very large minority would protect it.[29]

[26] Approximately the same pattern is seen in the white control group. The blacks are slightly more active but the relationships are similar.

[27] The white control group showed a lot more willingness to talk. The comparable figures were 23.4% tried to persuade others to go along, and a big shift is shown by 27.2%, who tried to persuade others not to go along, a counter protest activity. (N = 158)

[28] The comparable white figures were 2.5%--walk a picket line, 19.7%--cross a picket line, 1.9%--destroyed property, 7.0%--protected property. The much higher percent who crossed a picket line is viewed as counter protest.

[29] The white figures were similar in a number of instances. Differences were noted in what only 42.5% said they would strike, 82.0% would try to persuade, 51.6% would picket, 60.1% would cross the line, and 69.1% would protect property.

Table 5.11[a]

Distribution of Black Responses on Future Protest Activities

Question	Percent Ans. Yes	Num.
1. Would you go to a rally to hear it discussed?	94.3%	(133)
2. Would you sign a petition stating a position one way or the other?	89.9	(139)
3. Would you join a student strike?	68.4	(133)
4. Would you walk a picket line if you agreed with the strike?	66.4	(140)
5. Would you talk to others and try to persuade them to your point of view?	63.8	(141)
6. Would you just stay home?	29.4	(136)
7. Would you cross it [picket line]* if you did not agree?	24.6	(138)
8. Would you destroy any public property or private property if you thought your cause was just?	7.0	(142)
9. Would you protect public or private property if other students wanted to destroy it as a means of protest?	43.3	(134)

a) Order of questions has been changed in this table to illustrate breakdown of responses. See Instrument, Appendix A, Sec. 5 for developmental sequence of questions.

* editor insert

From the series of questions on protest activities performed, seven questions were extracted to be run against other variables, and six questions from the series on future protest activities. These were selected on the basis of a wide distribution of responses of the total sample, not on a protest, counter-protest criterion. The relationship of social class, an important correlate of protest behavior in other studies of black college students, is shown in Table 5.12.

Table 5.12

Question	Percent Answering Yes to Protest Activities by Class Working (N = 96)	Middle (N = 46)
Rally to protest	31.3%	19.6%
Petition to object	60.0	58.7
Petition to uphold	33.0	30.4
Observe picket line	29.5	21.7
Stay home	36.8	26.1
Persuade to	21.1	13.0
Persuade not to	13.7	17.4
Future		
Strike	72.1	64.4
Stay home	28.0	30.2
Persuade	63.2	70.5
Picket	68.1	66.7
Cross line	29.0	18.2
Protect property	36.7	53.5

The working class student was slightly more inclined to engage in protest activities than the middle class student. A barely higher percent signed petitions of either nature, observed the picket line, and tried to persuade more people to go along. A somewhat higher percent of working class students attended rallies and also stayed home.[30] The middle class

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30. This question is harder to interpret in that in some cases it appeared to be in the nature of a boycott, and in others simply from fear. A few viewed it as an opportunity to skip school without penalty.

black was slightly higher only in terms of persuading people *not* to go along.

On questions in the future, a little more activist positions are taken by the working class, who are ahead on statements they would strike, picket, and cross a picket line. The middle class is more likely to try to persuade and considerably more willing to protect property. As to who would stay home, the working class figure drops from 36.8% who *did* stay home to 28.0% who *would* in the future. The middle class moves in the other direction from 26.1% who *did* stay home to 30.2% who *would* stay home. The net result for the future is the middle class is more likely to stay home, although the difference is small.

It is always a hope in social science research to build on the work of others. Often it is difficult to do so because of disparity in measuring techniques, or in sampling procedures, or in differences of locale of studies, etc. Most of the work on black political protest has been done on college students, largely on all-black colleges, often limited to the South. The seminal work of Southern black politics is the volume by Matthews and Prothro.[31] In their comparative study of rates of participation of college students in protest activities in the early sixties, social class emerged as the single most important demographic variable. The relationship was stated, "The higher the social and economic status of the Negro student, the more likely he was to become an active member of the movement."[32] John M. Orbell's[33] study, based on the same data, confirms the Matthews and Prothro finding.

[31] Matthews, Donald R. and Prothro, James W., *Negroes and The New Southern Politics*, Harcourt, Brace and World, New York, 1966

[32] Ibid., p. 418

[33] Orbell, John M., "Protest Participation Among Southern Negro College Students", *American Political Science Review*, 61, June 1967

A study by Orum and Orum[34] conducted two years after the Matthews and Prothro data, reports contrary findings. The Orums claim a much more representative sample in that it is drawn from largely all-black colleges throughout the United States. On the other hand, respondents are limited to seniors. The Orum study found that students from lower socio-economic status were about as likely to participate in protest activities as those from higher socioeconomic status. Income measures and other class indicators varied from study to study. The present study used respondents' statement of class.

Despite the disparities in methods of collecting data and in measures used in establishing correlations, changes in the movement nevertheless may be hypothesized. The Orums point out that in the two year interval between collection of the Matthews and Prothro data and their own, overall participation doubled. They speculate, "During the intervening two years, it seems likely that many students of lower-class origins became involved in the protest movement. Consequently, the earlier class differences between participants and non-participants would tend to disappear."[35] The present study shows a slightly higher rate of participation of working class black students, which further suggests a movement in motion. The types of protest activities have changed in relation to grievances and concomitantly the nature of the question posed in this survey are different from the earlier surveys. The conclusion is that protest as a viable means of political participation evidently has filtered down to all layers of society and is becoming a rather common means of both publicizing and negotiating demands from various American institutions.

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[34] Orum, Anthony M. and Orun, Amy W., "The Class and Status Bases of Negro Student Protest," in Van Der Slik, Jack R., Black Conflict With White America, Charles I. Merrill Publishing Co., Columbus, Ohio, 1970, reprinted from Social Science Quarterly, 49, Dec. 1968

[35] Ibid., p. 208

The data on protest activities were divided by sex with the expectation that males would be more inclined to direct action political participation than the females. This was generally true among the black respondents. In terms of activities already performed, the black female was more involved in counter-protest activities in that she signed more petitions upholding institutional decisions than did the males, and she more frequently attempted to persuade people not to go along with a particular protest activity. This would fit, on the surface, notions of women as the more traditional members of a group, and the perpetuators of the status quo.[36] The female also stayed home more than the males. On statements of future activity, the male stated more often that he would strike, persuade others, picket, and cross a picket line. Again the black female would prefer to stay home. She also is more willing to protect property.

The black veteran was separated out of this group to be scored individually. Regarding past protest activities, he was the least active of any group in the study so far. On statements about the future, he is the most likely to use persuasion and also the most likely to cross the picket line. These findings fit intuitive observations that he is usually a serious, determined student. The researcher does not deny that a revolutionary potential may exist among returning black veterans, as the mass media so frequently claims. I would simply qualify the proposition by stating--if it is true, then they are not the veterans in college. This claim is further buffered by the next set of findings.

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[36] For a full discussion of attitudes and behavior by sex, consult Chapter 7.

To further investigate these activities, respondents were divided by age. Table 5.13 illustrates that the youngest group in the 16-20 age range, contains the most political activists. They are far ahead of all other groups in attending rallies, signing petitions to object to policy, and in talking to others--either persuading others to go along or not to go along. For the future all groups age 30 and under, appear willing to talk more or to persuade others, to their point of view. The "stay home" responses for the future decrease at age 25 and under, and increase over 25.

Table 5.13

Question	Percent Answering Yes to Protest Activities by age 16-20 (62)	21-25 (40)	26-30 (24)	31-35 (13)
Rally to protest	41.9%	10.0%	25.0%	23.1%
Petition to object	74.2	47.5	52.5	53.8
Petition to uphold	33.9	33.3	30.4	38.5
Observe picket line	27.4	20.0	34.8	30.8
Stay home	33.9	37.5	26.1	46.2
Persuade to	25.8	15.0	13.0	15.4
Persuade not to	22.6	10.0	17.4	0.0
Future				
Strike	71.7	71.4	63.6	66.7
Stay home	23.7	30.8	30.4	50.0
Persuade	63.9	69.2	78.3	46.2
Picket	68.3	72.5	59.1	69.2
Cross line	26.7	23.1	34.8	8.3
Protect Property	46.6	37.8	47.8	41.7

IV The Findings

The answer to the question on the direction of the black student movement is that it is highly pro-integration in nature although integration as a goal priority has shifted. Attitudes toward American institutions as demonstrated in the New Left Scale, still are supportive of the system. Direct action tactics as a New Left point of view are favored by a number of blacks. Actual participation in protest activities has been common for quite a few blacks. Even greater numbers state they would participate in protest activities given salient issues in the future.

Political attitudes and protest behavior showed some interesting variations as a function of social characteristics. Middle class blacks were somewhat less in favor of integration in public accommodations and housing. By sex, the black male was less pro-integration than the female. By religion, the "None" group is the least pro-integration in attitudes.

On educational policy, black studies with black instructors receives some support. However, very few wish to limit their own curricula to black studies, or their classmates to just blacks. The black female gave the latter notion a modicum of support. The black male gave slightly more support to black studies and a black major, than did the female. The "None" religion group proved to be the most separatist in educational attitudes. The demands for separatism tend to be selective and forecast a new kind of integrative theory of the "salad bowl" variety.[37]

The New Left movement, essentially viewed as white middle class in social base, was reviewed for black attitudes, especially regarding tactics. When scores for items were averaged, neither blacks or whites scored pro-New Left in averages, although the blacks were slightly less anti-New Left than

[37] See Chapter I for the intellectual underpinnings.

the whites. Faith in the essential "goodness" of man was expressed, reform of institutions to include blacks received a majority, and violence is largely rejected as a tactic. The blacks were highly action-minded. Approval of tactics outside the existing legal framework received more support from middle class blacks. By sex, the males preferred disruptive tactics more than the females.

Protest was introduced as a strategy of the powerless, but framed in the context of support from the community within which social change is occurring. An analysis of statements of activities performed and projected future activities, revealed an extraordinarily active group in areas within the political system. Destruction of property received little support. A broadoning of the base of political participation of working class students--in some activist areas passing up the middle class students. The black male was more active in most protest activities than the female. The black veteran in most activities was least active. Age emerged as a major social grouping having a relation to protest activities. The younger blacks are the most active in several key protest styles.

The dependent variables were found to have strong relationships to key social characteristics, ie. class, sex, and age. Religion and status as a veteran also emerged as social characteristics having some influence on either attitudes or behavior. No cause and effect relationships were established between attitudes and protest activities. Another independent variable was sought to explain participation in protest activities and differences in political attitudes.

CHAPTER 6 -- THE INTEGRATION EXPERIENCE

I Educational Output

II Integration and Protest

III Integration and Political Attitudes

IV The Findings

Chapter 6

"It is, however, not the object of the law to change attitudes as such, but to change behavior."[1]

Racial integration has been spelled out clearly as a matter of public policy in all phases of American life. Compliance with the directives to eliminate racial discrimination has been relatively good in some areas of policy, such as public accommodations, and improving in other areas, such as employment where sufficient administrative machinery was provided to enforce the directive. A bastion of resistance still remains in both South and North regarding racial integration of the public schools. Delays and court case strategems continue in the South, and the exodus of whites from mixed housing areas proceeds in tha North. Nevertheless, some integration in education beginning at various ages of the children, has taken place. The question that interests social scientists and educators is what is the effect of integration on the children?

White parents often tend to react with all sorts of irrational, prejudical stereotypes if they hear their children will be bussed in the name of integration to formerly all-black schools. Will it lower the performance of their children to be exposed to black children, who traditionally score lower on standardized national ability and achievement tests? Will white children be infected by behavior patterns upon contact with children coming from homes of people who are "different?" Black parents, on the other hand, often view with distain efforts to relieve overcrowded ghetto schools by bussing their children to formerly all-white schools, where the black children are not welcome. What will it do to the child's

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1. Lockard, Duane, Toward Equal Opportunity, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1968, p. 9

emotional development if he is expected to learn in a hostile environment?

Section I of the present chapter will discuss the effect of integration on academic performance or what we will refer to as educational output. To many parents this alone is the criterion of what constitutes an "education." Grades and test scores have been emphasized for so long that great difficulties are encountered in communicating the value of the total setting of education. Those who view education as part and parcel of the total socialization process, are increasingly out of touch with those who view it as an 8:30 to 3:30 operation in which sufficient numbers of facts are stuffed in sufficient numbers of heads to prepare the "luckier" children to compete for positions of varying levels of expertise in the technological state. The question is raised as to the meaning of education.

Aside from educational output, the integration experience itself emerged as a major independent variable having an effect on political behavior investigated, ie. protest activities, one of the key dependent variables of this study. The correlation of integration experience to protest behavior is reported in Section II. The relation of political attitudes, both toward separatism-integration and of the New Left variety to the integration experience is reported on in Section III. Section IV summarizes the findings.

I Educational Output

The Coleman Report, Equality of Education Opportunity[2], is a major contribution on the effects of integration on the performance of black children and other minority group children. Using scores on verbal achievement tests, the Coleman study looked at five variables: school facilities, school curriculum, teacher qualities, teacher attitudes, and student body characteristics. The conclusion spoke directly to the value of integration for black children. "The one variable at the level of the school that does make a strong unique contribution is the educational background and aspirations of fellow students--the student body variable."[3]

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[2] Coleman, James S., Equality of Educational Opportunity, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1966

The report further describes what approaches an "ideal" formula in terms of an integrated setting, or a proper composition of the student body. The first general result documented on student body characteristics is, "...as the proportion of whites in a school increases, the achievement of students in each racial group increases." Secondly, "...this relationship increases as grade in school increases." And third, the higher achievement of all racial and ethnic groups is found in schools with greater proportions of white students. This is attributed to "...better educational aspirations that are, on the average found among white students."[4] Coleman subsequently interpreted this to mean that in a proper integrated setting the performance of white children stays constant and that of black children improves.

A great deal of disagreement and confusion followed the Coleman report, which is a compilation of tables and graphs which constitutes a virtual challenge to interpretation. Clearly the latter finding above is subject to the usual ambivalence, are we talking about race or class? Daniel Moynihan argues from the data that the "absolute necessity of racial integration" is demonstrated. Race is not the single determinant of class in the United States, but it is "the single most inclusive determinant."

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3. Ibid., p. 311

4. Ibid., p. 307

Moyhihan says that what Coleman has shown is that "...the achievement of lower class students is raised when they are included in a predominantly middle class school, and that the corresponding achievement of the middle class student is not thereby lowered."[5] It is exposure to a middle class milieu, or the resources provided by the other students, which make up a proper educational balance. And the middle class children evidently should be a majority.

Self-concept, as well, appears in evaluating the success of the child in school. Coleman reported, "If a child's self-concept is low, if he feels he cannot succeed, then this will affect the effort he puts into the task and thus, his chances of success."[6] Despite this obvious proposition, Coleman argues in a follow-up article that exposure to children with a better vocabulary, or children performing at a better level serves to motivate the child so exposed, to improve his own performance. "The psychological environment may be less comfortable for a lower class child (and there is, some evidence that it is), but he learns more.[7] Coleman's answer to black parents who express their worry over personality damage, apparently would be to undergo the discomfort anyway.

The argument over improved performance of black children no doubt has touched the hearts of few Americans, who nevertheless decry the growth of welfare rolls or other alternative remedies to poor education. However,

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5. Moyhihan, Daniel P., "Education of the Urban Poor: Reflections on the Coleman Report," in Shank, Alan. ed., Political Power and the Urban Crisis, Holbrook Press, Inc., Boston, 1969

6. Coleman, op. cit., p. 281

7. Coleman, James S., "Toward Open Schools," in Writ, Frederick M., and Hawley, Willis D., New Dimensions of Freedom in America, Chandler Publishing Co., San Francisco, 1969, reprinted from The Public Interest, Fall 1967

educational failures among myriads of white children are receiving attention and increasing numbers of complaints from parents. Those children, whatever the color, who are "mis-educated" or simply bored to death, often are graduated from high schools lacking even the basic skills in reading and mathematics. In addition, education in the broad sense of the word, has prepared many children neither to do meaningful work nor to live in a multiracial society.[8]

Whether or not a multiracial society is desirable to all segments of the population is beside the point. The society exists and the time is now. Moynihan points out, "...education is the product of the total environment of the child, of which the school as such is only one, and probably not the most powerful, of multiple factors."[9] If we move the discussion away from national achievement standards, and view education as a means to introduce the child to the larger society, then we can return to the discussion of the composition of the student body as the most important educational tool.

Coleman points out that integration is equally important to both white and black children. "Yet most white children grow up having no conception of Negroes as individuals, and thus develop wholly unnatural and ambivalent reactions to Negroes as a group; most Negroes are in a similar circumstance."[10]

8. The scope of the present study precludes a discussion of the blueprints for change in education, ie., the educational parks or central learning centers. Beyond the acquisition of basic skills, a great deal of diversity in educational experience is on the horizon. The financial commitment and restructuring of tax resources in education obviously await the change in national priorities. Samuel Lubell in The Hidden Crisis in American Politics, W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., New York, 1971, predicts that the clash of interests in the 1970s will be the "military-industrial complex against the health-educational-research complex." p. 23

9. Moynihan, op. cit. p. 419

10. Coleman, "Toward Open Schools", op. cit. p. 188

The point to be made here is that the ill effects of the segregated environment on the white children is rarely discussed in that "education" per se is so often measured by test scores of one kind or another. The psychological damage is emphasized by Erikson in that "...the middle class culture, of which the slum children are deprived, deprives some of the white children of experiences which might prevent much neurotic maladjustment."[11] At the college level, student accusations of hypocrisy and student demands for relevance appear to be a groping for an honest introduction to the total society. Erikson sees, "...an exquisite poetic justice in the historical fact that many white young people who feel deeply deprived because of their family's 'culture' find an identity and a solidarity in living and working with those who are said to be deprived for lack of such culture."[12] Diversity in social class and racial composition of the total educational environment is then essential for the well being of all Americans.

The present study inquires into the nature of the integration experience as an independent variable. The question was open-ended and phrased simply as, "In your own words, how would you characterize your integration experience?" Commentary from both black and white students follow which illustrates the theses advocated by the foregoing discussion.

Increased respect for and among blacks is shown by the following comments.

Working class male--black--age 19--Catholic--I went to an all white grade school, but the whites and blacks didn't get along too well because the whites were poor whites. The neighborhood was pretty good and the whites couldn't understand how blacks could be living in those nice houses. The teachers were the same way--same prejudice feelings as the students. After a while they learned that we didn't want to be mistreated and called nigger. The teachers used to set up in class and sing songs like 'Ole Black Joe.' After a while they found out that we had pride just like white people and that we demanded respect too.

[11] Erikson, op. cit. p. 156

[12] Ibid.

Middle class male--white--age 21--Catholic--veteran--At first I wasn't too particularly fond of 'em, at first very prejudiced. Underline that very. Now it seems like the colored race has completely changed and they have more pride in the way they look, what they're doing, and where they're headed. Or maybe it's just me.

Working class male--black--age 34--No religion--veteran--Prejudices and bias exist. Lots of people try to polish it up, but basically I feel that all people are prejudiced. As far as prejudice is concerned, it really doesn't matter to me, just as long as people respect me. Don't like me or love me, just respect me as a human being.

Middle class female--white--age 19--Methodist--Well, I would say I've met a lot of resistence from my mother, but other than that I feel you should do as you feel. The difference between the races is not enough to separate us. The basic differences are like let's say, where you were raised. I think everyone should be proud to belong to their own race, but they shouldn't have prejudice toward other races.

Learning through association is demonstrated.

Working class male--white--age 20--Catholic--It's been an education in itself, really. They actually have more or less the same values, goals and they're basically the same people that we are, that you are.

Middle class female--black--age 20--Catholic--Been a wonderful experience--get to know both sides--many white friends didn't know us until high school--weren't allowed to associate till then.

Working class female--white--age 43--Catholic--It's been quite pleasant. I've enjoyed people of other races that I've met. They've not been a problem. I've learned to be more understanding of other people's problems.

A few described personal incidents.

Middle class male--black--age 17--Baptist-- When I first went to *-------- High the whites used to try to jump on me because I was short and little and always the black students would come and help me out....after the second and third year, it was pretty good....The farther out west you go the less the white people want to see you. Some white people don't want to see you and others see you and don't see you. The people out there in *(suburban community) where my mother works seem to treat us okay. They filled out my papers for school.

Working class male--white--age 20--Catholic--Well, when I went to *-------- (high school)*, I didn't want to go because I heard so much about it. And at first I had a little trouble. But I got along, and I didn't have as much trouble with black kids as I did with the administration. And you learn a lot, what the other side has to put up with. I had a lot of trouble with the administration. They made me cut my hair. And I could understand what the black people have to put up with. I could cut my hair, and shave my moustache. But they can't. They're different from the moment they're conceived.

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* editor deletion

Some struggle painfully with new concepts.

Middle class male--white--age 21--Catholic--Frustrating, because I have basic prejudices which I try to fight--brought on by home environment. Education has opened the door, I guess, to belaying my prejudices.

Working class male--black--age 18--no religion--Whites in general carry a certain amount of racism regardless of how liberal they seem. I feel that I have been a victim of institutionalized racism as well as individual racism through out my learning process.

Middle class male--white--age 19--Catholic--I'm in kind of a hassle about it--My views are changing, but I'm not sure what my views are, and I think integration is good--I don't have anything against any other race.

Middle class female--black--age 18--Baptist--Younger people can get along. Older people against integration. Parents didn't want it but it worked out fine with the kids.

Working class female--black--age 20--Baptist--(Junior high--first contact). We didn't have educational background whites had--rough.

Blacks integrated very young find it easy.

Middle class female--black--age 20--Baptist (integrated from grade school) Real nice. Just another person to me. Race doesn't matter.

Working class female--black--age 21--Catholic (integrated from grade school)--Didn't know much about it when I was small. A lot of stuff going on first year of high school. By time I graduated, they had accepted us. Gets better all the time.

Working class female--black--age 36--Baptist--I've been integrated thoroughly from pre-school. No unpleasant experiences personally. Some job discrimination.

Coleman paraphrased the results from his study, as "...the educational resources provided by a child's fellow students are more important for his achievement than are the resources provided by the school board."[13] The students in the present study appear to give affirmative reactions to the integration experience as an education in race relations. What was tested formally were the relationships of an integrated environment to protest activities and to political attitudes.

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[13] Coleman, "Toward Open Schools", op. cit. p. 186

II Integration and Protest

Despite increasing *de facto* segregation in the great northern cities, we were fortunate in the present study to pick up a number of respondents who had some experience with integration. Some of the students' first exposure to people of another race was in high school or college or the armed services. Others were exposed much younger either in grade school or pre-school. Many live in integrated neighborhoods.

The questions reported on in this chapter from the survey,[14] and the numbers answering yes or no by race are shown in Table 6.1. The search of educators to evaluate the integration experience joins at this point the search of political scientists to find key independent variables to explain facets of political behavior, (in this study--protest activities). Orbell focused on intergroup relations as one factor to explain protest activities of black college students. He found, "Certain structural positions in Negro society are characterized by higher awareness of the wide society, and, as a consequence, individuals are more prone to develop the particular set of attitudes and perceptions that lead to protest."[15]

The present study found that both black and white students, coming from integrated high schools, were more active in participating in protest activities. Based on Orbell, we would hypothesize that awareness of those students not culturally isolated, contributes to a significant increase in participation. Table 6.2 illustrates participation by race in

[14] See Interview Instrument, Appendix A, Page 3

[15] Orbell, op. cit., pp. 454-55

Table 6.1

Question	Black Yes	Black No	Whites Yes	Whites No
1. Was the high school you attended integrated?	83	59	94	64
2. Are there any people of different races living on your block?	84	59	44	113
3. How about in the general vicinity in which you live: are there any people of different races living in your neighborhood?	107	37	99	56
4. Are you acquainted with any people of a different race from your own here at Forest Park?	97	47	137	22
5. How about before coming to college here--were you friendly with anyone of different race in high school?	100	44	106	53
6. In grade school?	54	90	32	127
7. Pre-school?	30	109	10	148
8. In the service?	26	2	26	26

NUMBER OF RESPONSES

protest activities, controlling for whether or not the high school attended was integrated.

Both black and white students from integrated high schools went to more rallies, signed more petitions of either a protest or counter protest nature, and talked more in an effort to persuade. The integrated student also stayed home more when a protest was in progress. The segregated student observed the picket line slightly more than the integrated student. In general, the black student was more active in participation than the white student with the notable exception that the white student is more willing to talk and persuade (either way) than the black student.

Table 6.2

PERCENT ANSWERING YES TO PROTEST ACTIVITIES PERFORMED--BY RACE AND HIGH SCHOOL INTEGRATION EXPERIENCE

Question	Black Students Att. Int. H. S. (83)	 Att. Seg. H. S. (59)	White Students Att. Int. H. S. (94)	 Att. Seg. H. S. (64)
Rally to protest	31.3%	23.7%	27.7%	21.9%
Petition to object	67.1	50.8	59.6	50.0
Petition to uphold	37.0	27.1	31.9	29.7
Observe picket line	26.8	27.1	18.3	20.3
Stay home	39.0	25.4	23.7	18.8
Persuade to	23.2	13.6	25.5	20.3
Persuade not to	15.9	15.3	29.8	23.4

In answer to questions on protest activities that respondents would perform in the future, the black student from an integrated high school would increase and maintain his activist role. See Table 6.3. The percent of blacks who would stay home is close to equal for the future, a decrease from past activities for the integrated student, and an increase for the segregated student. The white student from a segregated high school in the future plans to assume a more activist role than the white from an integrated high school.[16]

Responses to the question on interracial contact on campus[17] were correlated with statements on protest activity performed in the past. The relationships shown in Table 6.2 stayed about the same for the black students for this correlation. For the 22 white students who had no bi-racial

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16. See Chapter 3 for breakdown of total figures on future participation. Very high percentages of all students state they would participate in most protest activities in the future, given sufficient cause.

17. See Table 6.1, Question 4

Table 6.3

PERCENT ANSWERING YES TO FUTURE PROTEST ACTIVITIES BY RACE AND INTEGRATION EXPERIENCE

Question	Black Students		White Students	
	Att. Int. H.S. (83)	Att. Seg. H.S. (59)	Att. Int. H.S. (94)	Att. Seg. H.S. (64)
Strike	73.3%	64.3%	39.8%	47.2%
Persuade	66.7	62.1	81.7	82.5
Stay home	29.1	29.8	27.8	38.1
Picket	71.6	61.4	48.9	55.9
Cross line	27.2	21.4	57.1	64.5
Protect property	38.5	50.9	68.8	69.5

acquaintances, the rate of participation in protest dropped considerably. A comparison of these responses, to the responses of whites from segregated high school (Table 6.2) is shown in Table 6.4. Apparently, a very apathetic group has been isolated in terms of both exercizing initiative for new acquaintances or for participating in political processes.

In response to questions on protest activities to be performed in the future, whites who have bi-racial acquaintances say they will become more active, and the 22 students who have none, will not. Table 6.5 illustrates the comparison. It appears that the effect of the integration experience on white students is to increase political participation for all except those who remain culturally isolated even within an integrated setting. In the black group the relations on statements about the future remain about the same as shown earlier.

The impact of integration was investigated from the standpoint of how early in life the experience occurred. See Table 6.1. Friendly high school

Table 6.4

PERCENT OF WHITES ANSWERING YES TO PROTEST ACTIVITIES PERFORMED--BY SEGREGATION EXPERIENCE

Question	Att. Seg. H.S. (64)	No bi-racial acq. at college (22)
Rally to protest	21.9%	9.1%
Petition to object	50.0	50.0
Petition to uphold	29.7	27.3
Observe picket line	20.3	4.5
Stay home	18.8	13.6
Persuade to	20.3	13.6
Persuade not to	23.4	4.5

Table 6.5

PERCENT OF WHITES ANSWERING YES TO FUTURE PROTEST ACTIVITIES BY INTEGRATION EXPERIENCE

Question	Att. Integ. H.S. (94)	Have bi-racial acq. at college (137)	Att. Seg. H.S. (64)	No bi-racial acq. at college (22)
Strike	39.8%	45.5%	47.2%	23.8%
Persuade	81.7	85.2	82.5	63.6
Stay home	27.8	31.8	38.1	31.8
Picket	48.9	54.3	55.9	36.4
Cross line	51.1	59.8	64.5	63.6
Protect property	68.8	70.8	69.5	59.1

contact for both races exceeded the numbers who attended integrated high schools. Table 6.6 illustrates the relationship of friendly racial contact to protest behavior. In general, the earlier the black student had friendly racial contact, the less he has participated in protest activity. Percentages fall fairly steadily on the five activities viewed as protest in nature. Those activities of a counter protest nature show almost no difference in activities the earlier the contact.

For the black student who has had no friendly racial contact in each of the three circumstances described, the relationships are reversed. Those who are still isolated in high school are the least active group. In comparing those who did and did not have contact in grade school, the relationship is the same as high school with the integrated student generally more active. However, when the two pre-school groups are compared, the segregated group is generally more active except in the two areas of a counter-protest nature.

Table 6.6

PERCENT OF BLACKS ANSWERING YES TO PROTEST ACTIVITIES PERFORMED BY TIME OF RACIAL CONTACT

Question	Friendly Racial Contact In			No Friendly contact in		
	H.S. (100)	G.S.(54)	Pre-S. (30)	H.S.(44)	G.S.(90)	Pre-S. (109)
Rally to protest	31.0%	29.6%	23.3%	20.5%	26.7%	29.4%
Petition to object	63.0	61.1	60.0	51.2	58.4	59.3
Petition to uphold	35.4	35.8	36.7	27.9	31.5	30.8
Observe picket line	27.0	27.8	20.0	27.9	27.0	28.7
Stay home	36.0	29.6	30.0	27.9	36.0	34.3
Persuade to	23.0	24.1	16.7	9.3	15.7	19.4
Persuade not to	18.0	20.4	20.0	9.3	12.4	13.9

These results qualify Orbell's findings with a time dimension. Evidently the earlier the contact or exposure (friendly) to the larger society, the less likely the black is to develop perceptions that lead to protest. On the other hand, confirming Orbell, continued lack of friendly contact in high school and grade school decreases protest activities as compared to those who have contact.

The behavior of the white group in the same settings is compared in Table 6.7. Only 10 had pre-school integration experience so this group was dropped. A comparison of those having friendly racial contact in grade school, showed the more active group was the one having interracial contact. This same relation was showed for the whites having friendly contact in high school. The overall percentage of whites participating in protest activity was about the same for grade school or high school friendly contact. For those of no friendly contact, the percentage shifts to grade school no-contacts as more active in all areas than high school no-contacts.

Table 6.7

PERCENT OF WHITES ANSWERING YES TO PROTEST ACTIVITIES PERFORMED BY TIME OF RACIAL CONTACT

Question	Friendly Racial Contact In		No Friendly Contact In	
	H.S. (106)	G.S. (32)	H.S. (53)	G.S. (127)
Rally to protest	32.1%	31.3%	13.2%	24.4%
Petition to object	62.3	56.3	43.4	55.9
Petition to uphold	34.0	37.5	26.4	29.9
Picket	20.0	21.9	17.0	18.3
Stay home	22.9	22.6	18.9	21.3
Persuade to	28.3	31.3	15.1	22.0
Persuade not to	30.2	40.6	22.6	24.4

Table 6.6 illustrates that the same is true of the black students, having no contact in either high school or grade school. The comparable finding suggests that if racial isolation continues for either group, each tends to become more disinclined to participate in the political system.[18]

Orbell's argument, we recall, is that exposure to the wider society increases protest participation of black students. The present study confirms this (if the exposure does not begin prior to grade school) and adds that the same is true for white students. In addition, Orbell states that high prestige colleges, high socio-economic status, and urban residence, all involve high levels of interaction with wider society. This style of political behavior appears to begin at high status colleges, usually West and East coast, and then filters inward geographically, and downward socially. Interaction with the wider society is the key, and this atmosphere is provided by an integrated setting.

A political "good" noted so far as a spin off of integrated education, is that achievement test scores improve for blacks in a proper integrated setting, while white scores do not decline. The second important finding is that protest activity also increases as a result of the integration experience. Orbell notes, "So long as the objective conditions exist, we can expect the increased communication between the races will bring a furtherance of protest, not a quieting."[19] For those who view protest activities as a political "bad," then obviously integration must begin pre-school where it does not increase this kind of participation. Less the finding be used to argue that integration should be avoided in that it increases protest activity, it is well to view this mode of political participation in perspective.

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[18] No pattern (black or white) was demonstrated between past integration experience and future protest behavior.

[19] Orbell, op. cit., p. 456

We have already seen that it has become commonplace as a strategy for many groups. For the powerless, ie., blacks and/or college students, it has been the only resource.

At a time when many political theorists are questioning whether the present system of government can respond to the demands of a rapidly changing technological society, a new means of expressing political grievances has appeared. I would like to argue that protest activities are a political "good." They are a specific and effective means of expressing grievances which may be negotiated rapidly, while still allowing time for the electoral process to catch up with social change. The mode of participation does not replace regular elections, or at educational institutions--contractual appointment or slower decision-making procedures. Rather protest activity complements existing democratic procedures and serves as an immediate safety valve for deeply felt grievances.

No credence is intended to be lent to irrational and pointless protest activity either. Obviously, any political strategy, to be successful, must be used with judicious restraint. Where it has been successful, this is a proper mode of participation. Kenneth Boulding warned that if the form of protest becomes offensive, it may trigger counter-protest, and thereby fail to serve its purpose. Accordingly, we must view protest activities as any other weapon in the political arsenal--used wisely, it is beneficial to a democratic system and adds to the stability of the state. As such, I would argue, that interaction of black and white in a wider societal context will build support, (if a bit noisy), for the political system.

III Integration and Political Attitudes

A perennial question in social science is the relationship of law to attitudes and behavior. Should attitudes change first and then receive ratification by law which will enforce behavior? Or should law change behavior first and then new attitudes will follow? A formidable argument for the latter point of view is presented by the integration experience.

In a non-educational context, Duane Lockard provides considerable evidence of changed attitudes based on laws requiring desegregation in public accommodations, employment, and housing. In public accommodations, desegregation laws offer "an excuse to do the right thing."[20] In employment, Lockard found, "...once Negroes had been hired and catastrophe did not follow, attitudes changed--not only on the part of the employer but employees too, who found through simple association with Negroes that they did not fit the stereotypes inculcated by the prevailing culture."[21] In education, the Coleman Report states, "The survey data also show that white students who first attended integrated schools early in their school careers are likely to value their association with Negro students." The data show that "...the smallest percentage of white students who would choose all white classes or all white friends are those who first attended classes with nonwhites in the early grades."[22] Pettigrew reports similar results, stating, "...white adults who experienced integrated schooling as children differ from comparable whites in their greater willingness to reside in an interracial neighborhood, to have their children attend interracial schools and to have Negro

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20. Lockard, op cit., p. 10

21. Ibid., p. 9

22. Coleman, Equality of Educational Opportunity, op. cit., p. 331

friends."[23] The integration experience following the present course of public policy is expected, therefore, to show a relationship to political attitudes.

Major public policy decisions beginning in the forties consist of increasingly strong pronouncements regarding integration in all aspects of American life. Despite differential compliance with the several areas of public policy and variations by different sections of the nation, behavior has been changed to a considerable extent. The question remaining is what effect the changed behavior has had on political attitudes, both toward the policies themselves and toward the political system.

A sufficient number of respondents in the present study had experienced integration in one form or another, to allow us to investigate the effect on attitudes. Table 6.8 illustrates the distribution of the total sample, black and white, in response to statements on public accommodations, housing, political representation, and employment.[24] Very small numbers give separatist responses. Using (4 + 5) as a sum of integration sentiment, large majorities support integration in public accommodations, political representation, and employment. The only area of the four still showing some sensitivity is in housing. Statement (2a) receives an 81.2% majority, but statement (2b)[25] drops down to 60.0%. This is a clear majority, but considerably lower than the other big majorities.

The second set of political attitudes surveyed was in relation to educational policy. The distribution of total responses, black and white, is shown in Table 6.9. Again significant majorities of both black and white

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23. Pettigrew, Racially Separate or Together?, op. cit. p. 65

24. See Chapter 5 for exact statements.

25. Statement (2b) read, "I think people in the United States would be better off if all neighborhoods were racially mixed."

Table 6.8

DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL RESPONSES IN FOUR PUBLIC POLICY AREAS

Question		Separatist 1	2	3	Integrationist 4	5	Num.
1. Public Accom.	a	3.0%	4.6%	8.3%	25.4%	58.4%	(302)
	b	3.6	1.3	.3	10.2	84.5	(303)
2. Housing	a	3.3	3.3	11.9	17.8	63.4	(302)
	b	5.6	15.5	18.5	25.7	34.3	(302)
3. Pol. Rep.	a	3.3	2.3	7.3	10.2	76.6	(302)
	b	1.0	3.0	5.6	17.5	72.9	(303)
4. Employ.	a	2.0	2.6	5.0	22.1	68.0	(302)
	b	1.0	1.3	3.0	13.5	80.9	(303)

prefer integration in most areas of education. Classmates and curricula receive resounding endorsements for integration. Support for separatist positions (1a) and (4a)[26] are in the realm of black studies with black instructors as shown in Chapter 5. These two statements along with the housing response, were extracted for further testing with controls for integration experience.

Table 6.10 shows that both black and white students, who attended integrated high schools, give more support to black studies with black instructors than do the students from segregated high schools. In general, the blacks give much more support to those two policies than do the whites. In housing, both blacks and whites from integrated high schools are more separatist in their preference than are those from segregated high schools. About one-fourth of both blacks and whites from integrated high schools do not favor

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[26] Statement (1a) read, "Black instructors are the only people qualified to teach black Americans their history. Statement (4a) read, "The best way to teach black heritage is in separate courses focusing totally on the black American."

Table 6.9

DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL RESPONSES IN FOUR AREAS OF EDUCATION

Question		Separatist 1	2	3	Integrationist 4	5	Num.
1. Instructor	a)	17.8%	19.8%	8.3%	25.1%	29.0%	(303)
	b)	8.9	12.5	9.9	36.3	32.3	(303)
2. Curricula	a)	3.3	4.0	6.6	21.8	64.0	(302)
	b)	8.6	15.5	16.8	28.4	30.4	(302)
3. Classmates	a)	1.0	3.0	16.2	18.2	61.7	(303)
	b)	2.6	4.6	14.2	31.7	46.5	(302)
4. Method	a)	16.8	20.1	15.2	27.4	19.8	(301)
	b)	3.3	9.6	15.8	31.4	39.6	(302)

racially mixed neighborhoods.[27] The one-fourth not in favor is much lower than we would expect based on the national population trends of whites to move to the suburbs and incidentally away from blacks.

Table 6.10

PERCENT GIVING SEPARATIST RESPONSE (1 + 2) BY RACE AND HIGH SCHOOL INTEGRATION EXPERIENCE

Question		Black Students Att. Integ. H.S. (83)	Att. Seg. H.S. (59)	White Students Att. Integ. H.S. (94)	Att. Seg. H.S. (64)
Instructor	(a)	56.6%	44.0%	27.0%	23.5%
Method	(a)	52.5	44.0	26.9	29.6
Housing	(b)	25.6	10.2	27.6	15.6

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27. The housing question was also run for black and white living in integrated and segregated neighborhoods. Black responses leveled off to 18.9% each, supporting separatist responses. White responses shifted as follows. Those living in an integrated neighborhood (99) gave 21.3% separatist response, and those living in segregated neighborhoods (56) gave 28.5% separatist response. This argues for behavior changing attitudes.

The data were divided for the same three questions by whether or not respondents had bi-racial acquaintances at college. Table 6.11 illustrates the breakdown. Compared to Table 6.10, the percentage of blacks who favor black studies with black instructors decreases with college contact and increases for those with no white acquaintances. The white students with black friends, in favor of black studies stays about the same as in Table 6.10. Whites with no black friends favor black studies much less. In the question of housing, both black and white students with bi-racial acquaintances are less in favor of segregated housing than those students with no bi-racial acquaintances. It appears that the hard core of those who remain isolated by race even in an integrated setting, remain immune to new ideas. Those who have contact across race lines moderate their views. This suggests that integrated educational settings need to be constructed to provide maximum exposure.

Table 6.11

PERCENT GIVING SEPARATIST RESPONSE (1 + 2) BY RACE AND COLLEGE ACQUAINTANCE

Question		Bi-Racial Acquaintance in College			
		Black Students		White Students	
		Yes (97)	No (47)	Yes (137)	No (22)
Instructor	(a)	49.5%	53.2%	27.7%	13.6%
Method	(a)	46.9	53.2	28.7	13.6
Housing	(b)	16.7	23.4	21.9	31.8

The time dimension was investigated for the three political attitudes by comparing friendly racial contact in high school, grade school, and for the blacks--pre-school. Table 6.12 illustrates the black responses and Table 6.13 the white responses. Blacks integrated from pre-school are clearly less supportive of separatist points of view. The housing question for both blacks and whites shows that the earlier the friendly racial contact, the less supportive each group is of segregated housing. In sum, of the three questions at all sensitive to separatist sentiment, the influence of the integration experience is clearly to modify attitudes of both blacks and whites to conform to the present course of public policy.

Table 6.12

PERCENT OF BLACKS GIVING SEPARATIST RESPONSE (1 + 2) BY TIME OF RACIAL CONTACT

Question		Friendly Racial Contact in			No Friendly Racial Contact in		
		H.S. (100)	G.S.(54)	Pre-Sch. (30)	H.S.(44)	G.S.(90)	Pre-School (109)
Instructor	(a)	50.0%	53.7%	36.7%	52.3%	48.9%	54.1%
Method	(a)	34.0	46.3	36.7	34.9	50.6	53.7
Housing	(b)	20.0	18.5	13.3	16.3	19.1	20.4

Table 6.13

PERCENT OF WHITES GIVING SEPARATIST RESPONSES (1 + 2) BY TIME OF RACIAL CONTACT

Question		Friendly Racial Contact In		No Friendly Racial Contact In	
		H.S. (106)	G.S. (32)	H.S. (53)	G.S. (127)
Instructor	(a)	26.4%	28.2%	24.5%	25.2%
Method	(a)	25.7	25.0	28.3	27.0
Housing	(b)	26.5	18.8	16.9	24.4

Pettigrew speaks to the old adage, "Laws cannot change the hearts and minds of men." He claims that they do through a vital intermediate step. "Laws first act to modify behavior, and this modified behavior in turn changes the participants' attitudes.... Behaving differently is more often the precursor to thinking differently."[28] The present study resoundingly adds evidence to this theory.

The next set of attitudes investigated was the seven questions drawn from the New Left Scale.[29] Distribution of total responses, black and white, are shown in Table 6.14. The first four tactical items demonstrate some New Left sentiment. The fifth tactical item shows preference to work first within the system. On the last two items which are philosophic in nature, reform is credible, but action is preferred.

Table 6.14

DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL RESPONSES ON NEW LEFT SCALE ITEMS

Question	Anti-New Left 1	2	3	Pro-New Left 4	5	Num.
Force	25.4%	20.1%	27.1%	19.5%	6.3%	(298)
Disruption	40.3	23.1	12.9	16.8	5.3	(298)
Streets	23.8	29.0	13.5	24.1	8.3	(299)
Courts	20.5	33.0	13.2	24.1	7.9	(299)
Exhaust	38.6	37.0	13.2	6.9	2.6	(298)
Reform	29.0	31.4	14.9	17.8	5.3	(298)
Action	9.2	20.8	24.8	28.1	15.8	(299)

The key New Left items were tested by race controlling for high school integration experience, college bi-racial acquaintance, and the time dimension of friendly racial contact in high school, grade school, and pre-school. No meaningful statistical correlations emerged. The integration experience

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28. Pettigrew, Daedlus, Fall 1965, op. cit. p. 990

29. See Chapter 5 for selection procedure of the seven key New Left items.

clearly effects attitudes as shown on integration policy, but there is no correlation with attitudes regarding tactics or philosophical positions. I would theorize that other experiences would affect these attitudes. For example, if students are involved with the courts, and they find the process responsive to their needs, then they will view them as legitimate. Conversely, if they do not find the courts responsive, then the expectation is that they would become disoriented to the courts. The integration experience was not a proper variable to explain New Left orientations.

IV The Findings

The broad question was posed as to the meaning of education and as to the proper setting in which Americans should be socialized into living in a changing society. The Coleman Report was reviewed in which the finding was reported that the key variable related to educational output is the composition of the student body. A replication of the total society in terms of racial composition and social class approached the notion of the ideal setting, even at the expense of some psychological discomfort.

The integration experience emerged as a major independent variable tending to increase protest activities of both black and white students. More black than white students participated in this form of political behavior. The white student was more willing to talk or persuade others. In response to statements about the future, both black and white students stated that they will step up their rate of participation given sufficient cause. A time dimension was introduced to explain the integration experience. Of those who had friendly racial contact, the later the contact began, the more active he was in protest activities. Of those who had no friendly racial contact, the later this circumstance continued, the less active was the student. Similar relationships emerged for the white group.

The argument was introduced that protest is a means, and a legitimate one, of participating in the democratic process. It is a strategy, open to all, but particularly a strategy of the powerless. Used wisely, it serves as a method of communication that complements the slow process of the electoral procedure. Protest activities arose spontaneously as an adjunct to the proper functioning of a democracy in the context of a technological society.

The question of the relationship of law to attitudes and behavior was opened and tested by looking at several sets of political attitudes and their differences based on enforced behavior, ie., integrated education. No relationships were established between integration experience and New Left attitudes. However, significant attitudinal changes were documented in acceptance of public policy decisions on integration.

A high rate of agreement was found in both black and white acceptance of integration in public accommodations, employment, and political representation. Some white reluctance was shown in acceptance of integrated housing, evidentally still a sensitive area for a sizable minority. In educational policy, integration in classmates and curricula is a settled issue. Black studies with black instructors receives some support from both blacks and whites from integrated settings. Blacks with white friends become less supportive of black studies, and the support remains the same among whites with black friends at college. Viewing black studies, as we have, as an identity reinforcement, it appears that blacks with broadening experience, need it less. Whites of integration experience are more supportive of black studies than are segregated whites. This indicates white support for what is viewed as something their black friends want. Students who do not mix even in an integrated setting, do not appear to benefit from the integration experience.

Some studies on racial attitudes of blacks and whites demonstrate significant gaps in perceptions or attitudes.[30] The remarkable agreement on major issues of public policy further illustrate the beneficial effects of an integrated education.

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[30] See for example, "A Comparison of Negro and White Attitudes: Two Different Worlds," Lemberg Center for the Study of Violence in Writ and Hawley, eds., op cit., pp. 159-166

PART III

Part II reported the major findings of this research project and the correlations established among variables. Part III deals with interpretation of the research results, conclusions and recommendations. In the process of testing and relating the dependent and independent variables, certain key social groups emerged as crucial to interpretation of the findings. These groups are discussed in Chapter 7. Recommendations follow as to the role each may play in order to build support for the political system. Sex emerged as a social grouping of significance, especially the white female. Age, in particular the 16-20 grouping, demonstrated differences from all other groups worthy of particular attention. Veterans, as a discrete group, also showed a distinctive pattern of special interest. Although small in number, black and white persons answering "none" to the question on religion, were viewed as introducing important differences by race that may be indicative of trends for the future.

Chapter 8 brings into focus the basic research findings. The questions raised initially are reviewed, and answers supplied as nearly as possible from the study. Based on the evidence in this study emanating from the integration experience, I shall go on to argue a specific policy of structured integration in education, a kind of policy that really has not been tried. Last, I shall attempt to link the recommendations in education to other major changes which are already in the literature. The recommendations in Section III of Chapter 8 are based on my value position that education is inseparable from the total socialization process. The ideas advanced are radical in the sense that their adoption would require the abandonment of old concepts as to the nature of education. I do not see the change that is necessary as an impossible hurdle, given our failure in so many cases to prepare American youth to live in the technological state.

CHAPTER 7 -- KEY SOCIAL GROUPS

I The White Female

II The Young Blacks

III Black and White Non-believers

IV The Veterans

V Summary

Chapter 7

The tedious process of correlation should not obscure the very real human beings about which social science research seeks information. In this particular research project it has been our stated goal to distinguish individual differences among black students in order better to address their educational needs. There was never any presumption that one answer would emerge. Rather the infinite variety of personality, attitudes, and life experiences were anticipated.

Interpretation of the findings requires some broad conclusions to be drawn and specific recommendations to be made. A focal point of organization turned out to be an emphasis on certain key social groups. From the long procedure of testing relationships of numerous variables to social groupings, four categories emerged as worthy of special attention, both for interpretation and for recommendations. Section I of this chapter discusses the white female. The results characterizing her thinking and behavior were not anticipated, and in fact, were astonishing. Section II of Chapter 7 presents the young blacks in the 16-20 age group. These results fall within expectations. Documentation of trends that were suspected may nevertheless hurry along attention to phenomena which are occurring.

A third social group of significance is characterized as the non-believers. Although the numbers who have abandoned any religious formalities are few in this study, characteristics of this group are reported based on our knowledge of their size and importance in other major American cities. Section III discusses the non-believers. Similarities and differences of black and white veterans are discussed in Section IV. The black veterans in particular are viewed as a key group with a leadership potential. Section V presents a brief summary of the key social groups, and recommendations concerning them.

I The White Female

The conventional view of the female in all societies holds that she is more conservative than the male. Having strong family concerns and in most societies the obligation to raise the young, she is the bearer of tradition and the transmitter of the culture. Further, her lack of exposure to the wider society reinforces her penchant to conservatism. In discussing cross-pressure in voting behavior, Lipset states, "There is evidence that women in most societies are more conservative and more religious than men, with these differences most accentuated on the working-class level. Such variations in the values of the sexes may flow from varying life experiences. Husbands are more exposed, in both their work and their leisure activities, to the modal or predominant opinion of their class. Women, particularly housewives, are less involved in the intra-class communications structure, see fewer politically knowledgeable people with backgrounds and interests similar to their own, and are therefore more likely to retain the dominant conservative values of the larger culture."[1] So pervasive is this prognosis of women in our culture that researchers in political science often do not institute controls of the data by sex.

Voting behavior research in the United States documents differences in turnout by sex and finds a relation to both education and regional location.

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[1] Lipset, Seymour Martin, Political Man, The Social Bases of Politics, Anchor Books, Doubleday & Co., Inc., Garden City, New York, 1960, pp. 216-217

The less educated woman is less likely to vote than the male counterpart. In the American South, the woman is also less likely to vote. Campbell et. al. explain this as follows. "This differential probably reflects a lag in sex-role change in this area, relatively sheltered as it seems to be from many modern cultural innovations."[2] Differences in voting turnout by woman is consistently 10% below that of men.[3] Kirsten Amundsen in a recent study points out, "The difference in election turnout between the sexes has grown less significant as the years have passed, until in the national election of 1968 it was not more than 3.8%."[4] The fact that important differences are occurring in American society regarding changes in sex roles is not an arguable point. What is of interest to the researcher is as follows. Given the wider exposure now of women to the larger society, are there any important differences emerging, not just in voting behavior, but in other modes of political participation and in political attitudes?

The data for the present study were routinely separated by sex as well as race and other typical social groups. A sense of political efficacy, we recall was a measure used in the study which was found to be related to social characteristics.[5] Campbell et. al. found that it was in the sense of political efficacy where men and women differed the most sharply and consistently. "Men are more likely than women to feel that they can cope with the complexities of politics and to believe that their participation carries some weight in the political process."[6] The two measures of political efficacy used in the study are shown in Table 7.1.

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[2] Campbell, Converse, Miller, & Stokes, The American Voter, An Abridgement, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, 1964, p. 256

[3] ibid.

[4] Amendsen, Kirsten, The Silenced Majority, Women and American Democracy, Prestice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1971, p. 134

[5] See Chapter 4 for discussion of the correlations of this measure.

Table 7.1

Social group	High local efficacy (3-5)	High college efficacy (3 + 4)
White female	51.3% (80)	31.2% (80)
Black female	48.8 (84)	39.2 (84)
White male	39.7 (78)	29.9 (77)
Black male	39.0 (59)	40.0 (60)

Both the white and the black female score higher than the male counterpart on local efficacy. The relationship does not hold for college efficacy where the data divides more meaningfully by race than by sex. The feeling of higher efficacy at the college by blacks is discussed in Chapter 4. Nevertheless, Table 7.1 indicates some interesting differences by sex in the study.

Table 7.2 demonstrates differences by sex in trust in people and by personal competence. Here the white female begins to emerge as a category of some significance. She is far ahead of all other groups with 82.7% scoring in the high trust range, even though she and the black female do not feel as personally competent as the males do. The black male scores the reverse of the white female in that he feels the most competent and the least trusting.

The broad acceptance of all groups of the course of public policy in integration was noted in Chapter 5. Nevertheless, differences in degree

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6. Campbell, op. cit., p. 259

emerge when the data are divided by sex. Table 7.3 demonstrates a quite independent position taken by the white female on the four basic areas of public policy.

Table 7.2

Social group	High Trust (3 + 4)		High personal competence (6-8)	
White female	82.7%	(81)	44.5%	(81)
Black female	46.4	(84)	44.0	(84)
White male	60.3	(78)	52.5	(78)
Black male	40.0	(60)	56.6	(60)

Table 7.3

Question		Percent Ans. Pro-Integration (4+5) by Race and Sex			
		Black Male (N=60)	Black Female (N=84)	White Male (N=78)	White Female (N=81)
1. Public Accom.	a)	76.2	83.3	80.8	93.8
	b)	90.0	96.4	94.9	96.3
2. Housing	a)	83,0	89.3	73.1	80.3
	b)	66.1	65.5	48.7	61.7
3. Pol. Rep.	a)	71.2	86.9	92.3	93.8
	b)	98.4	92.8	82.1	90.1
3. Employment	a)	88.4	89.3	89.7	95.0
	b)	98.3	96.4	88.3	96.3

In the questions on public accommodations, she is the most pro-integration in response in that she scores in the 90 percentile on both statements. On the two questions on employment, she is the most pro-integration on the (a) statement and is in agreement with the blacks on the (b) statement. On political representation (b), she is in closest agreement with the black female. On the (a) statement regarding a separate black nation, she is in agreement with the white male. The black male, as was noted in Chapter 5, finds this notion the most appealing.

The only really sensitive area remaining in public policy was in housing. Here the departure of the white female from the white male point of view is significant. The white female is much more supportive of integrated housing and is closer in general to the black point of view. Since, traditionally, choice of housing or neighborhood, at least in middle class culture, is the female prerogative, the much more liberal point of view expressed here, emerges as significant. Housing backs right into neighborhood schools and invites scrutiny into the white female responses to the separatism-integration statements on educational policy.

Table 7.4

Question		Percent Ans. Separatist (1 + 2) by Race and Sex			
		Black Male (60)	Black Female (84)	White Male (78)	White Female (81)
1. Instructor	a)	51.7	50.0	33.4	18.5
	b)	30.0	25.0	17.9	14.9
2. Curricula	a)	15.3	9.5	6.4	0.0
	b)	23.8	25.0	23.0	24.6
3. Classmates	a)	6.7	6.0	3.9	0.0
	b)	1.7	14.3	8.0	2.5
4. Method	a)	59.3	41.6	24.4	28.8
	b)	13.3	15.5	14.3	8.6

Table 7.4 presents pro-separatist scores by race and sex. The white female is the least separatist of all groups regarding black instructors. On the method of presentation, she prefers the material to be in regular courses, although she supports black studies slightly more than the white

male. The white female scores zero in recommending blacks major in black studies and zero in preferring to go to college with all whites. The second half of the classmates statement puts her in agreement with the black male and not at all supportive of separatist sentiment. The second half of the curricula statement finds her in agreement with all other groups. If the white female is not the conservative defender of the status quo which much of the literature assumes her to be, then her potential as a moderating force in a period of racial cleavage deserves serious consideration. Her attitudes toward New Left sentiments, especially statements on tactics, become of interest.

Table 7.5

Question	Percent Ans. Pro-New Left (4 + 5) by Race and Sex			
	Black Male (59)	Black Female (84)	White Male (76)	White Female (80)
Force	44.1	28.9	19.7	16.3
Disruption	45.8	25.3	14.4	10.0
Streets	37.2	38.1	27.6	28.8
Courts	32.2	27.4	28.9	41.3
Exhaust	11.9	10.7	6.6	10.1
Reform	25.4	35.7	17.3	15.1
Action	47.4	39.3	42.1	50.1

Table 7.5 shows the white female to be largely committed to working within the system. She is the least supportive of force and disruption. She is in agreement with the white male on the streets as an inappropriate medium for change, although the courts as an alternative, appeal the least to her. She believes in reform to solve society's problems, but is the

most action-minded, even passing up slightly the black male. This brings up the question of her actual participation in protest activities.

Table 7.6 illustrates participation by race and sex in protest activities in the past. Attendance at rallies is close to the same for all groups except the black male, where a slightly higher percent have participated. The white female is close to the blacks on signing petitions to object to policy decisions. The white male lags behind the other three groups in this case. Both the white and the black female are almost equal on signing petitions to uphold policy decisions, in each case ahead of the males. The white female observed picket lines just below the blacks, but quite a bit more than the white male. He was the one who stayed home during disruption the least. The black female stayed home the most, and the black male and white female fall in between the two extremes.

Table 7.6

Protest Activity	Percent Ans. Yes by Race and Sex			
	Black Male (60)	Black Female (84)	White Male (78)	White Female (81)
Rally to protest	30.0	26.2	25.6	25.9
Petition (object)	61.0	58.3	50.0	61.7
Petition (uphold)	25.4	38.6	25.6	37.0
Observe picket line	27.1	27.4	14.3	23.5
Stay home	22.0	41.7	16.9	25.9
Persuade to	18.6	19.0	16.7	30.9
Persuade not to	5.1	22.6	28.2	27.2

Moving into the area of persuasion, the white female has talked the most to persuade people to go along with a protest activity, and is close to equal with the white male on persuading people not to go along. This phenomenon suggests once again the white female as a potential moderator in times of political protest.

For statements regarding future protest activity, the white female plans to be less active. She is once again very willing to try persuasion, and expresses a willingness to protect property. The percentage increases of those who would stay home in the future, over those who did in the past. The white female is the least likely to strike or picket and very likely to cross the picket line. See Table 7.7.

Table 7.7

Future Protest Activity	Percent Ans. Yes by Race and Sex Black Male (60)	Black Female (84)	White Male (78)	White Female (81)
Strike	81.4	60.8	49.3	35.2
Stay home	20.3	35.4	23.0	40.0
Persuade	72.9	59.8	82.1	82.3
Picket	72.9	64.2	61.6	42.3
Cross line	27.1	23.7	61.3	59.5
Protect property	34.5	49.4	61.3	76.6

Reviewing the attitudes of the white female, she is very much pro-integration, but prefers working within the system. Her interest in protest as a mode of political action appears to be declining. Persuasion appeals to her the most. It was pointed out in Chapter 5 that animosity aroused over the form rather than the substance of a protest activity may lead to failure to produce the desired change. Those having grievances to express may wish to respect the form preferred by the group having the most sympathy with the substance.

II The Young Blacks

It was hypothesized in Chapter 4, based on evidence of lessening importance of skin color gradations, that pride in blackness or "black is beautiful" is a successful campaign. We also noted in looking at the data that the 16-20 year old age group departed significantly from all other age groups on the measures used to tap attitudes about oneself. The young blacks then become an important group to watch and to compare to its white counterpart.

Table 7.8

Social Group	Low Trust (1 + 2)	High Compet. (6-8)	Local Eff. (3-5)	College Eff. (3 + 4)
Black 16-20 age group (N=62)	70.9%	37.1%	59.7%	38.7%
White 16-20 age group (N=81)	33.3%	40.8%	51.1%	25.9%

A description of the two groups may be extracted from Table 7.8. As pointed out in Chapter 4, both groups are progressively less trusting, the younger the group we are surveying. However, the blacks show an extraordinary jump, which we viewed as extremely cynical and not just a function of youth. In feelings of personal competence the two group are close to equal with the young whites having a slight edge. In terms of feeling of efficacy, both locally and at the college, the young blacks feel more capable of effecting change. This finding is viewed with particular significance in that in other SRC research, blacks traditionally score lower on political efficacy than whites. The finding lends credence to the theory that what is occurring with the young blacks is an increased sense of political awareness. The young blacks are not at all trusting of other people, but nevertheless, feel capable of changing institutions.

The data were checked by age for participation in protest activity. Among the blacks, a higher percent of the young group attended rallies, signed petitions to object to policy, and talked more either to persuade or not to persuade others to go along with their views. On statements regarding future activity, the young blacks are highly likely to strike and disinclined to stay home. Willingness to persuade increases considerably over past attempts at persuasion.

Table 7.9

Protest Activity	Percent of 16-20 Age Group Ans. Yes by Race Black (N-62)	White (N= 81)
Rally to protest	41.9	30.9
Petition (object)	74.2	70.4
Petition (uphold)	33.9	33.3
Observe picket line	27.4	21.0
Stay home	33.9	27.2
Persuade to	25.8	29.6
Persuade not to	22.6	33.3

A comparison to the white control group ages 16-20 is shown in Table 7.9. The figures are remarkably similar. A higher percent of the young blacks attended rallies, and a higher percent of the young whites attempted to persuade people not to participate. But, by and large, the groups were equally active.

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7. The 21-25 black age group were just as likely to strike in the future and even more willing to use persuasion.

On statements regarding participation in the future, a divergent point of view, black and white emerges. Table 7.10 illustrates that the young blacks are much more willing to strike. They are less inclined to stay home or cross a picket line or to protect property. The young whites are more inclined to try persuasion and are twice as likely to cross a picket line. The differing statements about future action convey an uneasy picture in which incidents which polarize around race carry an explosive potential. This invites us to check the attitudes of this age group.

Table 7.10

Future Protest Activity	Percent of 16-20 Age Group Ans. Yes By Race Black (N=62)	White (N=81)
Strike	71.7	49.3
Stay home	23.7	28.7
Persuade	63.9	86.2
Picket	68.3	55.7
Cross line	26.7	49.5
Protect property	46.6	66.2

The expectation is that this group would be the most separatist in outlook on the key attitudinal statements, and it is. The young blacks preferred black studies with black instructors and separate housing more than any other group, black or white. The young blacks also evidenced more pro-New Left attitudes in tactics. Action is preferred by this group, more than any other group. Attitudes themselves were not related to behavior in this study. However, attitudes are viewed as important components of system support, and the picture is bleak.

We have at hand a group of distrustful but efficacious young people who give the most support to separatism and disruptive tactics. Their willingness to participate in protest activities of the future is clear. The findings add to the wealth of other governmental reports and warnings issued over the last several years. The persuasive evidence conveys urgency to address the needs of these young people. Funds must be allocated and an educational environment constructed which will offer them the same opportunities as white Americans. Support for the political system will come from those citizens who have access and entry to that system.

III Black and White Non-believers

Another social group of interest, though small, includes those blacks and whites who answered "none" to the question on religion. Given increasing evidence in social science research of the decline of influence of religion, those respondents who state specifically that they have no religion, assume importance as indicators of trends in the future.

A description of the two groups reveals some important differences. Of the 12 blacks professing no religion, 58.3% rank at rock bottom (score 1) on trust, whereas in the white group of 20, 50.0% rank at high trust (score 4). A similar difference emerges in the measure of personal competence. In the black group, only 33.3% score in the upper range (6-8), but 65.0% of the white group score in the upper competence range. In local efficacy, the black no-religion group scores 63.7% high efficacy (3-5). The white counterpart levels off at 50.0% high local efficacy. At the college, the whites of no religion feel more efficacious with 40.0% scoring high (3+4) and only 33.3% of the blacks scoring high. What emerges is a small group of distrustful blacks feeling not too competent personally, but efficacious at the local government level. The white non-believers are trusting of other people and feel personally competent. They feel less efficacious locally than the blacks, but more efficacious at the college.

On attitudes toward separatism-integration, the white non-believers are much more pro-integration than the blacks. Attitudes toward tactics shows the blacks leaning more pro-New Left than the whites except that more faith in the courts is expressed by the black non-believers than the whites. Consult Tables 7.11 and 7.12.

Table 7.11

Question		Percent of Non-believers Ans. Pro-Integ. (4+5) by Race Black (N=12)	White (N=20)
Instructor	(a)	41.7	70.0
Method	(a)	9.1	60.0
Housing	(b)	45.5	70.0

Table 7.12

Question	Percent of Non-believers Ans. Pro-New Left (4+5) by Race Black (N=11)	White (N=20)
Force	45.5	20.0
Disruption	18.2	5.0
Streets	27.3	20.0
Courts	27.3	50.0
Exhaust	9.1	10.0
Reform	45.5	5.0
Action	63.7	50.0

On protest activities performed, the black non-believers were more active than the white in every instance except staying home and persuading not to go along. Regarding statements on future protest activities, the white non-believers intend to be more active in all areas except that the blacks will be more likely to strike.

The groups discussed in this section are small and compared to cities such as Detroit[8], St. Louis looks rather religious as yet. Nevertheless, the black non-believers appear cynical and lacking in personal competence when compared to the white group undergoing the same phenomenon. It also appears that as the whites move away from religion, they become more pro-integration. The blacks, on the other hand, move in the opposite direction, to become more separatist in outlook. Just as the one group begins to build an inclusive culture, the other group rejects it. The blacks have been more active in protest in the past, but the white non-believers will be in the future. A trend of increasing alienation may be occurring in the blacks, which cannot be viewed as supportive of the political system. The white non-believers may be the logical ones to communicate with this group.

IV The Veterans

A fourth social group of interest to emerge from the study are the black and white veterans of the armed services. Journalists and national media commentators have speculated endlessly on what role the black veteran will play if he comes home to the same discrimination he left behind. Polarization around issues by race has been evident among men in uniform as well as within the general public.

Chapter 4 pointed out that the black veteran in comparison to other blacks was the most trusting and the most competent. He felt efficacious at the college, but not locally. Table 7.13 compares him to the white counterpart. A remarkable similarity in scores emerges. The white veteran is slightly more trusting and competent, and the black slightly more efficacious both locally and at the college. The figures invite speculation that similarity of experience in the service contributes to the leveling off evident on attitudes toward oneself.

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[8] The Aberbach-Walker study of Detroit showed that 67% of their respondents born in Michigan were not members of a church. See Chapter 4.

Table 7.13

Social Group	High Trust (3 + 4)	High Compet. (6-8)	High local eff. (3-5	High college eff. (3+4)
Black vets (28)	57.1	67.9	33.3	46.4
White vets (30)	63.3	73.3	30.3	39.3

The veterans as a group have been less active in protest than other social groups. A breakdown of activities by race is shown in Table 7.14. The white veteran has attended more rallies, signed more petitions to object to policy decisions, and persuaded others more either way. The black veteran has signed more petitions to object to policy decisions, observed the picket line more, and stayed home more. In a number of instances the figures are rather close.

On statements of future activities, the black veteran is far more likely to strike. The white veteran doubles his likelihood to stay home. The black veteran is less inclined to do so. Both are equally willing to try to persuade people to their point of view. The black veteran is more likely to walk a picket line, and the white veteran to cross it. The white veteran is more concerned to protect porperty. See Table 7.15.

Viewing the two groups of veterans in perspective, both rank high in

Table 7.14

Protest Activity	Percent of Vets Ans. Yes by Race Black (N = 28)	White (N = 30)
Rally to protest	14.3	20.0
Petition (object)	51.9	36.7
Petition (uphold)	18.5	23.3
Observe picket line	18.5	13.3
Stay home	33.3	17.2
Persuade to	7.4	23.3
Persuade not to	3.7	20.0

Table 7.15

Future Protest Activity	Percent of Vets Ans. Yes by Race Black (N = 28)	White (N = 30)
Strike	77.8	38.5
Stay home	29.6	34.5
Persuade	81.5	80.0
Picket	70.4	59.3
Cross line	29.6	65.5
Protect property	33.3	74.1

attitudes toward themselves and fairly high in college efficacy. Each has been less active in protest than other social groups, and each shares at least a willingness to talk or use persuasion in the future. The veterans, and especially the black veterans, can be viewed as offering a leadership potential, so far largely untapped. Since the black veterans feel much more competent and trusting, and offers in addition the edge of maturity, they appear to be the logical group to work with the young blacks of the 16-20 age group.

V Summary

Important social groups have been extracted from the study and discussed in terms of what each has to offer toward understanding the black student movement. The young blacks are seen as a potentially explosive group deserving of particular, immediate attention. The black nonbelievers also are seen as moving away from system support. A reservoir of leadership was suggested as possibly coming from the black veterans. The white female was introduced as a moderating force. Her attitudes are the most pro-integration but she disapproves of disruptive tactics. Recommendations were made as to roles each group could play to moderate existing race tension.

Theodore Roszak inquires, "How do Black Power, black culture, black consciousness stop short of becoming stepping stones to black consumption, black conformity, black affluence; finally, to a middle class America of another color?"[9] The underlying assumption is that the education job has not been done too well with white youth, and therefore the challenge ahead is more than just closing an economic gap, but rather in building a better society.

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[9] Roszak, Theodore, The Making of a Counter Culture, Anchor Books, Doubleday & Co., Inc., Garden City, New York, 1969, p. 68

CHAPTER 8 -- CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS IN EDUCATION

I Questions and Answers
II Recommendations on Integrated Education
III Toward a New Educational Policy

Chapter 8

"In a real sense, integration has not failed in America, for it still remains to be tried as a national policy."[1]

The major focus throughout this research project was the direction and content of the black student movement. Intellectual roots in the past pull the movement in either direction, toward an essentially separate society and toward an integrated America. An overview of past history must describe this society as separate and unequal, then and now. The specific programs of separatism today are distinctive in that the geographic and economic independence sought, give to the program the essential missing ingredient, a sense of human dignity. The counter urge and more generally accepted goal has been historically and is today, a truly integrated society. But again the essential ingredient and in fact, the only terms on which the goal can be negotiated, are based on an equal sense of personal worth.

The salad bowl theory referred to in Chapter I needs to be spelled out more explicitly. The ingredients will be different from each other to create a beautiful salad. Translated into people, this means a combination of personalities, social groups, social and political attitudes, and behavioral characteristics. It will incidentally contain different colors of skin subsumed under a rubric of several races. It is a proper combination of people and experiences that this chapter hopes to recommend as a first step to a truly integrated society. So far, we have not really approached the challenge of integration in education by more than a body count.

Part I of Chapter 8 will attempt to draw together the major findings

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1. Pettigrew, Racially Separate or Together?, op. cit. p. 297

of this project by answering the questions posed in Chapter I and at later points in the study. Part II will offer specific and immediate recommendations for integrated education. Part III will introduce a totally different kind of educational policy. The concepts will be new, possibly shocking, but I think, offer an honest appraisal of what needs to be done. The recommendations in this chapter are directed in a broad context toward a new national educational outlook. These include a change in the traditional educational tax structure, the basis of drawing school district lines, use of physical facilities, and the organizing principle of student groups. A specific proposal is submitted to the sponsoring institution of this research project--the St. Louis-St. Louis County Junior College District.

I Questions and Answers

A question raised early in the study and one of enduring interest in black literature is what progress has been made by black college students in the search for an identity. Despite the difficulties in operationalizing the notion of self-concept, some evidence, nevertheless, appeared demonstrating increasing self respect among the blacks. Many are still distrustful of other people, but a majority fall in the higher range of personal competence. Veterans feel particularly competent. Increasing numbers of black students feel politically efficacious, and especially the youngest age group in the study. Lightness of skin color showed a decline in importance, which suggested that the pride in blackness effort, is reaching the college student. A proud sense of identity related back to integration theory, which was described as "making a whole out of parts that are and remain distinct."[2] This conveys a new meaning to the term in that for the first time it is based on equality, rather than imitation of some set standards.

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[2] Storing, op. cit., p. 5. See Chapter I.

The new definition of integration in effect answers the second question raised regarding whether or not the black student movement was essentially separatist in nature. The data showed resounding endorsement of public policy decisions affirming integration as a goal. High majorities of the white students endorsed integration policy as well. Some shift in goal priority among the black students was evident. This notion was introduced as "selective separatism."[3] The selectiveness in this case related to approximately half of the black students endorsing black studies with black instructors, but nevertheless endorsing integration in all other aspects of American society. The part "selected out" by the blacks returned us to the notion of identity, this time relating to one's heritage.

A third question raised in the study was in regard to the choice of tactics. High percentages of black students have participated in protest activities and even higher numbers stated that they would use this tactic, given sufficient cause, in the future. Protest activity in itself was presented as a useful and legitimate means of participation in the political system. New Left attitudinal measures showed a high percentage of blacks to be committed to action. Within a proper framework then, and used wisely, it was argued that protest complements other methods of political participation.

Another question posed was in relation to the extent of disorientation to the American political system. This question was approached through the New Left Scale. Both black and white students were found to be well within

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3. Pettigrew, Racially Separate or Together?, op. cit. p. 298. See Chapter 5.

the system in attitudes, but with the blacks slightly less anti-New Left than the whites.

Relationships were sought between social group membership and personality, goals, and tactics. Each of the dependent variables was found to be related to group memberships. Variations in attitudes toward oneself were also related to specific groups.

In the course of the study several other questions were raised, which were assumed to be of interest to social scientists and educators. The relationship of law to attitudes and behavior, a basic social science concern, was discussed in conjunction with the integration experience. The course of public policy decisions was described as pro-integration. Integration in education, a policy enforced by law, was investigated in depth as an effect on attitudes and behavior. Resounding evidence of increased participation within the political system, was accumulated as a result of interaction among the two racial groups. In addition, approval of the policy decision on integration was extraordinarily high and much higher than general public opinion surveys. The effect of integration on first behavior and second attitudes was impressive.

Finally, the meaning of education itself was raised. Educational output, as measured in standardized achievement tests, was discussed and results of the integration experience documented in terms of this measure. However, the validity of measuring the American educational system in terms of skill output is seriously questioned. The infinite variety in American blacks demonstrated in Chapter 4 is surely applicable to American whites as well. How well we are preparing all of American youth to live in a multiracial society with a sense of personal worth and human dignity, regardless of natural abilities--seems to be the last question we must attempt to answer.

II Recommendations on Integrated Education

The most important finding to emerge from this research project was the beneficial effects of integration in education. Those students who had experienced integration in education were more active in political participation--protest activities in this case. Protest was viewed as a political "good," when properly conducted. Students using protest as a method of participation were viewed as acting within the framework of the political system. A second political "good" emerging from the integration experience was a broad acceptance of public policy decisions in all areas of integration by both black and white students. This finding too was viewed as a component of system support.

When the findings on the effect of the integration experience on both political attitudes and participation are added to the Coleman data on test scores, we must conclude with a very strong argument for integration at all levels of education. The circumstances of the integration, however, need to be much more structured than they presently are. Clearly, just putting together people of both races has not improved relations either in South Africa or at Forest Park. Pettigrew distinguishes between "desegregation" and "integration." He refers to Godron Allport's review of the proper situation in which prejudice is lessened. "Prejudice is lessened when the two groups: (1) possess equal status, (2) seek common goals, (3) are cooperatively dependent upon each other, and (4) interact with the positive support of authorities, laws, or custom."[4]

Each of Allport's criteria should be met deliberately. The first

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4. Pettigrew, Thomas F., "Complexity and Change in American Racial Patterns, A Social Psychological View," Daedlus, The Negro American, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Fall 1965, p. 957

criterion was to "possess equal status." Status we noted earlier in order to have meaning, must be verified by relevant others. I believe that in groups properly constructed, much of this will occur naturally, the more so the younger the children. The attitude and manner of the adults, teachers and counselors attached to the group, also will be important. All educators need to be trained in the importance of identity for black children so that some extra effort will be forthcoming to verify the dignity of these children.[5]

Allport's second criterion "to seek common goals" certainly can be implemented through the guidance of the teacher. The overall common goal already is to learn and the teacher can set up innumerable secondary goals and projects in which the students learn to work together. This will develop the group cohesion at early ages that can be transferred graciously at a later age to living in a multi-racial society.

The third criterion recommended cooperative dependence on each other. Pettigrew discusses this notion in terms of interracial athletic teams. I would add here that those teachers who find games, debates, group competition a successful method of teaching should simply, artfully construct her teams so that divisions are never by race. The positive support of authorities, laws, or custom makes up Allport's fourth criterion. The law has been clear since 1954. Support of authorities varied in different parts of the nation. Adoption of a true commitment to integration in educational policy would demonstrate the proper support from authorities. Change in the custom no doubt would follow last.

5. I personally see the role of black studies as temporarily useful to affirm identity. Some empire building is occurring in the area of black exclusiveness, which concomitantly developes into a vested interest in segregation. I would beware of the people whose careers rest on a divided society.

These general recommendations in education for teachers and counselors also apply specifically to Forest Park Community College. An overall goal of this study has been to gain information to address better the needs of black students. A wide diversity of personalities of blacks has been demonstrated, and a fairly universal identity problem has been introduced. I recommend that both new and old faculty receive some minimal training in the black experience. Awareness of the identity problem must be fostered, and the importance of verifying the status of each individual student must be emphasized. This training must be constantly qualified by the expectation of the infinite differences in personality and problems.

Sponsorship of student activities always should be black-white teams. Faculty should encourage integrated activities by organizing them around interests that are neither ethnic or racial. Student representation on appointive committees should include members of the key social groups as outlined in Chapter 7.

Finally, I believe the St. Louis-St. Louis County Junior College District should adopt a new educational policy of integration of all three colleges. I have argued and I do argue that education cannot be measured strictly in terms of grades or test scores. It is a part of the total socialization process and as such must replicate in the student body a microcosm of the total society. A description and rationale follow of a new kind of educational policy recommended for national public schools, including community colleges.

III Toward A New Educational Policy

A vision of a new national outlook in education requires not only abandonment of old concepts on which American education rests, but also an understanding of American politics. Politics are often defined as "the allocation of scarce resources." The presumption is that at any one time there is some finite quantity of resources located in a nation-state over which groups will compete. Entrenched interests, who are receiving a lion's share of the resources are not expected to grandly offer to take less. They will further strive to use their talents and skills to both conserve these recources and to perpetuate their own existence. Recommendations to either change the allocation of resources or to re-structure a system of dispensing rewards, necessarily will be viewed as radical. Nevertheless, as sentiment grows in a nation-state regarding the use of resources as unjust, then the system of distribution of resources also may be called into question.

Among the sacred concepts in American education remaining today is the neighborhood school. Traditionally, education has been the subject matter of the state, and in fact, rests in many states securely in the hands of the local community. The burden of expenses in most instances rests on the property taxpayer. The tax base varies enormously from one school district to another and leads to a great difference in expenditure per pupil. Since incorporation of communities tends to center around people of similar life style, then the exclusiveness of school districts is reinforced by a homogenity of the student body. The children of the poor and of the wealthy school district, in their unequal race for test scores, rarely meet except in competitive athletics. Education as a microcosm of the real world is a picture book fantasy.

My first recommendation for a new national educational policy is that we abandon the concept of the neighborhood school. The cultural isolation that is its inevitable by-product, is failing to educate the children, both rich and poor. In addition, the property taxpayer has been increasingly burdened with taxes for local services and is starting to revolt, especially in terms of support for education. I would prefer a different tax source for education, coming from the national budget and distributed on a much more equitable basis than is now occurring. My second recommendation is that the size of the school districts should be large. They should be drawn to provide a broad heterogeneity of race, class, life style, etc. that truly reflects and encompasses the breadth of American life.

The third change recommended is that education should be mobile. One of the primary objections to central learning centers or educational parks, is the horrendous expense involved constructing centers of this nature. I would suggest as an alternative to use the existing physical structures, but to move the children regularly as a part of their socialization into the total society. In terms of reallocation of resources, this means a vast increase in funding for transportation facilities. My argument for the shift in funds is that people of the technological state will be highly mobile. We may as well get on with the job of providing rapid, efficient transportation of whatever kind is suitable to a particular area. But let it start with the children we are educating to understand a whole society. Let them spend some time in a series of different areas. Bussing is not to be an issue in that all children will be mobile.

My fourth and most important recommendation relates to the composition of the student body, or in the plan so far a series of groups rotating around a large school district. The composition of the groups should follow what has been learned from the Coleman Report, and the present study. Each group should be predominantly white middle class. I would suggest that minority group members should not exeed one-third in any group, and also should not drop below actual percentage of the population. Based on results regarding sex of the present study, I would further recommend that the groups should be divided about equally male and female.

What I envision is simply registration at some central point at which the student is evaluated by class, sex, race, family background, etc. From that point the student will be assigned to an educational group who will stay together unless parents move out of the district, and who will move about as a part of the learning process. A program should be developed to enhance group cohesion. Certain key faculty members and counselors should stay with a group for the years within the competence of the educator. Others should be attached to the physical structure who can convey the sense of the neighborhood to the student group. Ideally, the neighborhoods will alternate from urban, suburban, and rural.

By way of summarizing the general recommendations I believe support for a new kind of educational policy will not be as difficult to build as it first appears. Much questioning of education is occurring anyway, and numerous studies have been ordered. It is not only the failure to reach black students that is evident. It is the copping out and dropping out of white students, often of the most affluent backgrounds, that is also creating the necessary stir. When the discontent of the over-burdened property taxpayer is added to the situation, a nucleus of support may be provided to move education in a new direction.

I recommend that the St. Louis-St. Louis County Junior College District lead the way in adopting the new educational policy. A minimum of 100 students from each of the three colleges should be carefully selected to begin in the mobile education. The first semester might place the students at Meramec, the second at Forest Park, and the third at Florissant Valley. I would call them the "JCDs" and lend prestige to the group. Each semester the group should be in possibly two courses together to maintain group cohesion. For their other courses, they should diversify by fields of interest into the general courses offered at the college. The fourth semester should be open choice or possibly field work. Transportation is a must every semester.

A second group of the same size should start the second semester and begin the rotation, until every student is included as a matter of educational policy. Allowances should be made that some students will drop out. These should be replaced by other students of similar background to those who left a group so that the composition of the group stays constant. The goal will be to detach people from particular institutions, while building loyalty to a particular group which resembles the overall society.

A careful survey of attitudes and behavior as well as academic measures should be kept of each group from beginning to end. Views on integration policy, attitudes toward civil liberties, attitudes toward tactics--changes in any of these areas over a two year period would serve to demonstrate how well we are educating the child. In the process, I believe we will build support for a political system that is open and honest and offers a fascinating education to its youth.

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APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW INSTRUMENT Interview Number ________

SECTION 1 - SOCIAL PROFILE

1. Counting this semester, how many semesters have you been at Forest Park?
____

2. a) Did you attend any other college before coming to Forest Park
Yes ________; No ________
b) (If yes) Name of college ________________________________
City ________________________________

3. What high school did you graduate from?
Name ____________________; City ______________; GED ________

4. Can you tell me whether you were in the upper third, middle third, or lower third of your high school class?
Upper ________; Middle ________; Lower ________

5. What program are you in at Forest Park?

________ General Curriculum; Project Ahead ________

________ Career, Name of Program ________________________________

________ Transfer
________ Business
________ Liberal Arts
Have you decided your major? ________________________________

6. What is your grade point average so far at Forest Park? ______________

7. (If respondent is a returning student)
How do you think you are doing this semester?
Better than last semester? ________
Worse than last semester? ________
About the same as last semester? ________

8. Taking everything into consideration, what do you think your chances are of completing the program you are in at Forest Park?
Definitely will complete ________; Probably will complete ________;
Probably will not complete ________; Definitely will not complete ________;
DK ________

9. Do you plan to finish four years of college and get a degree?
Definitely yes ________; Probably yes ________; Probably no ________;
Definitely no ________; DK ________

10. What occupation do you plan to be in when you complete your education?
First choice ________________________________
Second choice ________________________________
DK __________

11. Do you think the program you are in is directly related to your goal in terms of an occupation or job?
Definitely yes ________; Probably yes ________; Probably no ________;
Definitely no ________; DK ________

12. Whom do you live with? Alone ____; Mother only ____; Father only ____;
Both parents ____; Other relatives ____; Friends ____; Spouse ____

13. Do you (your parents, relatives) own the place you live in, or rent?
Own ________; Rent ________

14. What kind of home do you live in? Single family ____; Duplex ____;
Multi-family ____; Shared apartment ____; Rent a room ____;
Project ____

15. How many years have you lived at your present address?
Under 1 year ________; Years _______

16. a) Did you grow up in the St. Louis area? Yes ________; No ________
b) (If yes) What part of the area did you grow up in? ________________
c) (If no) Where did you grow up? ________________

17. a) Was your father born here? Yes ________; No ________; DK ________
b) (If no) How many years has he lived here? ________________
c) Where was he from originally? ________________

18. a) Was your mother born here? Yes ________; No ________; DK ________
b) (If no) How many years has she lived here? ________________
c) Where was she from originally? ________________

19. Where are your grandparents from? ________________

20. a) What kind of work has your father done most of his life? ________________
b) What is his present job title? ________________

21. a) Does your mother work? Yes ________; No ________
b) (If yes) What kind of work can she do? ________________
c) What is her present job title? ________________

22. a) Do you work? Yes ________; No ________
b) (If yes): Full time ________; Part time ________
c) What kind of work can you do? ________________
d) What is your present job title? ________________

23. a) (If living with parents) Not counting your own job what would you say the approximate yearly income of your family is?
(OR)
b) (If married or on own) What would you say your approximate yearly income is?

__ Under $3000
__ $3000 to $5000
__ $5000 to $7000
__ $7000 to $10,000
__ $10,000 to $15,000
__ Over $15,000

24. There's quite a bit of talk these days about different social classes. Most people say they belong to the working class, middle class, or upper class. Which would you call yourself? ____

Now, I would like to ask you some questions about how much contact you have had with people of other races.

25. Was the high school you attended integrated? Yes ____; No ____
    (If yes) What would you estimate the percentage to be of black and white students at your high school while you were there?
    % Black ________; % White ________; % Other ________

26. Are there any people of different races living on your block?
    Yes ________; No ________

27. a) How about in the general vicinity in which you live; are there any people of different races living in your neighborhood? Yes ____; No ____
    b) What would you estimate the percentage of black and white people to be?
    % Black ________; % White ________; % Other ________

28. a) Are you acquainted with any people of a different race from your own here at Forest Park? Yes ________; No ________
    b) (If yes) How often do you get together with persons of other colors here--to study, have a coke, go to a meeting, or other such things on campus?
    Frequently ____; Occasionally ____; Infrequently ____; Never ____

29. What about off campus--how often do you get together with acquaintances of other races away from campus?
    Frequently ____; Occasionally ____; Infrequently ____; Never ____

30. a) How about before coming to college here--were you friendly with anyone of a different race in high school? Yes ________; No ________
    b) In grade school? Yes ________; No ________
    c) Pre-school? Yes ________; No ________
    d) In the service? Yes ________; No ________

31. In your own words, how would you characterize your integration experience?
____
____
____
____
____

32. a) What is your religious affiliation or identification? Catholic ____;
    Baptist ____; Methodist ____; Jewish ____;
    Other Protestant (name) ____________________; None ____;
    Other ____________________
    b) How often do you attend services? Frequently ____; Occasionally ____;
    Infrequently ____; Never ____

33. a) Do you belong to any off-campus clubs, organizations, church groups, or unions? Yes ________; No ________

b) (If yes) What are the names of the organizations? __________________

____

____

34. a) Do you belong to any on-campus clubs or organizations? Yes ___ ; No ___
b) (If yes) What are the names of the organizations? __________________

____

____

c) (Interviewer should note if interviewee states why he does or does not belong to any (or more) organizations)

____

____

35. a) How often do you attend any college events such as sports, plays, musical events, speakers on campus? Frequently ____; Occasionally ____; Infrequently ____; Never ____
b) Which of these events do you attend? Sporting events? Yes ____; No ____
Names of sports ____
As a spectator? ________; As a participant? ________
c) Plays? Yes ____; No ____ Spectator? ____; Participant? ____
d) Art Festivals? Yes ____; No ____ Spectator? ____; Participant ____
e) Speakers? Yes ____; No ____
f) Dances? Yes ____; No ____

36. Would you mind telling me your age? ________

37. Are you a veteran? Yes _______; No _______; Presently in service ____

38. What is your marital status? Single ____; Married ____; Divorced ____;
Separated ____; Widowed ____

39. (Interviewer should mark) Sex: Male ____; Female ____
Race: Black ____; White ____;
Other ________________________________

INTERVIEW INSTRUMENT Interview Number _______

SECTION 2 - POLITICAL EFFICACY (COLLEGE)

I am interested in how you feel about Forest Park and the way it is run. I'm going to give you a list of statements to read. The scale runs from one to five, ranging from strong agreement to strong disagreement. Please circle the one that best fits the way you feel. (Interviewer gives interviewee handout A. When interviewee finishes, pose open-ended questions as follows.)

(Open ended) How much influence would you say you have here personally at Forest Park? ______________________________

____

____

____

____

____

____

____

____

SECTION 2 - SEPARATISM-INTEGRATION (COLLEGE)

There's been a lot of talk about the best way to offer courses when black and white students go to college together. Read this next list of statements and mark how you feel about each one. (Give interviewee handout B.)

INTERVIEW INSTRUMENT Interview Number ______

SECTION 3 - PERSONAL COMPETENCE

Now, I'd like to ask you a couple of questions about your own personal plans in life.

1. Have you usually felt pretty sure your life would work out the way you want it to, or have there been times when you haven't been very sure about it?

   Usually pretty sure ____ Sometimes not very sure ____

2. Do you feel that you are the kind of person who gets his share of bad luck, or do you feel that you have mostly good luck?

   Mostly good luck ____ Share of bad luck ____

3. When you make plans ahead, do you usually get to carry out things the way you expected, or do things usually come up to make you change your plans?

   Things work out as expected ____ Have to change plans ____

4. Are you the kind of person that plans his life ahead all the time or do you live more from day to day?

   Plans ahead ____ Live from day to day ____

5. Some people feel like other people push them around a good bit. Others feel that they run their lives pretty much the way they want to. How is it with you?

   Run own life ____ Get pushed around ____

6. Would you say you nearly always finish things once you start them or do you sometimes have to give up before they are finished?

   Always finish ____ Sometimes give up____

7. If you had your choice, would you rather have a job where you gave the orders or a job where somebody else told you what to do?

   Rather give orders ____ Rather be told what to do ____

INTERVIEW INSTRUMENT Interview Number ________

TRUST IN PEOPLE

1. Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?

   Most people can be trusted ____
   Can't be too careful ____

2. Would you say that most of the time, people try to be helpful, or that they are mostly just looking out for themselves?

   Try to be helpful ____
   Look out for themselves ____

3. Do you think that most people would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance or would they try to be fair?

   Take advantage ____
   Try to be fair ____

SECTION 4 - POLITICAL EFFICACY (ST. LOUIS AREA)

I have a set of statements I'd like you to read now, which relate to the St. Louis area as a whole. Circle the number that best tells how you feel about each statement. (Give interviewee handout C.)

SECTION 4 - SEPARATISM-INTEGRATION (GENERAL)

There seems to be a difference of opinion as to how black and white people should live and work in the United States. Read the following statements and circle the number which best fits how you feel. (Give interviewee handout D.)

INTERVIEW INSTRUMENT Interview Number ______

SECTION 5 - PARTICIPATION

A lot of people have been objecting to the way things are done in educational institutions and around the nation in general. Protest activity by students has become rather common. I'd like to know how you feel about expressing grievances. For instance,

1a.) Have you ever attended a rally to protest a school decision?

Yes ____ No ____ NA ____

1b.) Have you ever attended a rally to uphold a school decision?

Yes ____ No ____ NA ____

2a.) Have you signed a petition to object to a policy you thought was unfair?

Yes ____ No ____ NA ____

2b.) Have you signed a petition upholding a policy decision you thought was right?

Yes ____ No ____ NA ____

3a.) Have you participated in a student strike by observing the picket line?

Yes ____ No ____ NA ____

3b.) Have you participated, in a way, by just staying home when a strike was in progress?

Yes ____ No ____ NA ____

4a.) Have you talked to others to try to persuade them to go along with a student protest activity?

Yes ____ No ____ NA ____

4b.) Have you talked to others to try to persuade them not to go along with a student protest activity?

Yes ____ No ____ NA ____

5a.) Have you walked a picket line in conjunction with a student strike?

Yes ____ No ____ NA ____

5b.) Have you crossed a picket line when a student strike was in progress?

Yes ____ No ____ NA ____

INTERVIEW INSTRUMENT Interview Number _______

6a.) Have you destroyed any private or public property as a means of student protest activity?

Yes ____ No ____ NA ____

6b.) Have you protected private or public property when other students wanted to destroy it as a means of protest?

Yes ____ No ____ NA ____

(If student has engaged in any protest activity, pose open-ended question)

I'd like to hear more about your protest experience. What kind of issues came up that made you feel you should protest? ______________________________

____

____

____

____

____

____

What were the results of your protest activity? ______________________

____

____

____

____

____

____

Interview Number ________

Now suppose while you were at college, something came up in the future that you felt pretty stongly about one way or the other.

7) Would you go to a rally to hear it discussed?

Yes ____ No ____ DK ____

8) Would you sign a petition stating a position one way or the other?

Yes ____ No ____ DK ____

9a.) Would you join a student strike?

Yes ____ No ____ DK ____

9b.) Would you just stay home?

Yes ____ No ____ DK ____

10) Would you talk to others and try to persuade them to your point of view?

Yes ____ No ____ DK ____

11a.) Would you walk a picket line if you agreed with the strike?

Yes ____ No ____ DK ____

11b.) Would you cross it if you did not agree?

Yes ____ No ____ DK ____

12a.) Would you destroy any public property or private property if you thought your cause was just?

Yes ____ No ____ DK ____

12b.) Would you protect public or private property if other students wanted to destroy it as a means of protest?

Yes ____ No ____ DK ____

INTERVIEW INSTRUMENT

Interview Number ________

SECTION 6 - NEW LEFT SCALE ITEMS

The next set of statements are just sort of general statements about politics in the United States today. Mark these the same way as the other statements you've been reading. (Give interviewee handout E.)

SECTION 7 - OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS

1) What do you like about the St. Louis area as a place to live?

____

____

____

____

____

____

____

____

2) What do you dislike about the St. Louis area as a place to live?

____

____

____

____

____

____

____

____

INTERVIEW INSTRUMENT Interview Number ________

3) How would you evaluate educational opportunities in the St. Louis area?

4) What do you think about housing conditions here locally?

5) How would you characterize race relations in the St. Louis area?

INTERVIEW INSTRUMENT

Interview Number ________

6) Do you plan to make this area your permanent home? Yes____; No ____; DK ____
Where do you think the ideal place to live would be?

____
____
____
____
____
____

7) What do you like about Forest Park College?

____
____
____
____
____
____
____
____

8) What do you dislike about Forest Park College?

____
____
____
____
____
____
____
____

INTERVIEW INSTRUMENT Interview Number _______

9) How did you happen to pick Forest Park over the other colleges in this area? (If respondent does not mention Meramec or Florissant, interviewer should pose these alternatives.)

10) What name do you like best to refer to non-white people?

Colored people ___; Black ___ ; Negro ___; Afro-American ___ ;
Other ______________________

OBSERVATION OF INTERVIEWER - SECTION 8

Skin Color:

White ___

Black, Very light ___; Light ___; Medium ___; Dark ___; Very Dark ___

Hair Style:

White Male, Long ___; Average ___; Short ___; Beard? ___

White Female, Long ___; Average ___; Short ___

Black Male, Long ___; Short ___

Natural ___; Straightened ___; Beard? ___

Black Female, Long ___; Short ___

Natural ___; Straightened ___

A

Interview Number ______.

1) I don't think college administrators care much about what people like me think.

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Neutral	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

2) Subject matter and content of courses are so complicated that a person like me really can't know what should be taught in various courses.

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Neutral	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

3) I don't think I understand how things are decided in this college.

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Neutral	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

4) People like me don't have any say about what the college does.

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Neutral	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

5) Students like me know what is best for them and have the right to determine what courses they take and what courses are taught here.

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Neutral	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

B

Interview Number ________

1) Black instructors are the only people qualified to teach black Americans their history and culture.

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Neutral	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

2) Black students ought to study what white students are learning in order to compete in American society.

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Neutral	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

3) I think a racially mixed college offers the most desirable education.

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Neutral	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

4) The best way to teach black heritage is in separate courses focusing totally on the black American.

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Neutral	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

5) A fair presentation of the heritage of black Americans can be taught by any qualified black or white teacher.

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Neutral	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

6) The way things are going in America, black students would be better off to major in Black Studies and plan to work with just their own people.

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Neutral	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

7) I would prefer to go to college just with people of my own color.

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Neutral	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

8) The best way to learn the contributions of blacks to American civilization is to routinely include that information in any and all courses where relevant.

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Neutral	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

C

Interview Number ________

1) I don't think I am able to understand how things are decided in this community.

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Neutral	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

2) Sometimes local politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me really can't understand what's going on.

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Neutral	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

3) People like me don't have any say about what is done in this community.

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Neutral	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

D

Interview Number ________

1) People should go to restaurants, movies, and dances that cater to people of their own color.

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Neutral	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

2) I think people in the United States would be better off if all neighborhoods were racially mixed.

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Neutral	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

3) Blacks should be fairly represented and should participate in all levels of government in the United States.

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Neutral	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

4) Black people should work only in their own communities and stop working within the existing power structure.

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Neutral	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

5) Where one goes for entertainment should be determined by one's interest, not his race.

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Neutral	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

6) I like the idea of a separate black nation within the United States.

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Neutral	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

7) I think black and white people should live in their own neighborhoods and not try to mix.

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Neutral	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

8) Black people should try to get jobs in all occupations in the U. S.

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Neutral	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

E

Interview Number ________

1) Authorities must be put in an intolerable position so they will be forced to respond with repression and thus show their illegitimacy.

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Neutral	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

2) Disruption is preferable to discussion for changing our society.

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Neutral	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

3) Radicals of the left are as much a threat to the rights of individuals as are the radicals of the right.

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Neutral	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

4) The streets are a more appropriate medium for change in our society than printing presses.

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Neutral	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

5) The courts are a useful method for changing policy.

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Neutral	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

6) There are legitimate channels for reform which must be exhausted before attempting disruption.

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Neutral	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

7) Extensive reform in society only serves to perpetuate the evils; it will never solve problems.

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Neutral	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

E (2)

Interview Number ________

8) Anyone who violates the law for reasons of conscience should be willing to accept the legal consequences.

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Neutral	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

9) It is possible to modify our institutions so that the blacks can be incorporated on an equal basis into our contemporary society.

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Neutral	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

10) Although men are basically good, they have developed institutions which force them to act in opposition to their basic nature.

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Neutral	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

11) Educational institutions should adopt and promote political doctrines.

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Neutral	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

12) Political groups cannot cooperate with each other without sacrificing their integrity.

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Neutral	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

13) A commitment to action is more socially relevant than a commitment to any specific philosophy.

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Neutral	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

14) Provocation of the police should only be a by-product, not a goal, of mass action.

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Neutral	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

15) The only way to combat violence is to use violent means.

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Neutral	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1